

The SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

VOLUME X

MARCH 1936

NUMBER 1

AMERICAN ASPECTS OF THE CRISIS IN DEMOCRACY

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM*

CAN democracy survive in the modern world? The speaker holds that American democracy can survive through political and economic adjustments to the social and spiritual needs of the people. The present world-crisis, immediately consequent upon the wreckage and miseries of the war and the depression, has called into question the values of liberal democracy as the valid way of life in the modern world. This crisis, in its several manifestations, brought into experimental being communism in Russia, the recent labor government in Britain, fascism in Italy, nazism in Germany, and the New Deal in America. Parliamentary government was rejected in Russia and discarded in Italy and Germany. The surviving Western democracies are in the midst of struggles for political and social readjustments made morally imperative by great human needs. Liberal democracy still carries on in Britain, France, and America, but not without challenge as to its very foundations. One of the most brilliant of the political scientists of the English-speaking world, in discussing the present crisis in democracy, recently said to an American audience: "The decay of Parliament is not due to inherent defects in its own structure. It is due to the erosion of the foundation upon which it stands."

The New Deal, in the view of some, is simply one of the most

* At the University of Chicago Chapel, December 1, 1935.

dramatic of the exits of liberal democracy as it seeks to regear the American political system to the engines of a dynamic economic society. It is, in kindred view, both the tired sigh of an era that is dying and the fresh breath of an age that is being born. In the view of others, it is but the futile finger in the hole in the dyke, sooner or later to be overwhelmed by the oncoming flood of revolution, which, it is held, will make a new and more adequate channel for the strong, swift currents of human life.

In the view of others the New Deal is a brave and hopeful attempt to bring into intelligent relation the existing frame of government, the economic structure of society, and the human and spiritual needs of millions of forgotten men. In the midst of these many different views of contemporary processes, history is not in a position to write either the epitaph of the old society or the preamble of the new.

If this New Deal—by New Deal we mean not the mere measures of a party but the present struggle and democratic hopes of the people of all parties for readjustment—if some New Deal or a modified or enlarged New Deal fails to adapt political democracy to industrial society, fails to establish a new balance of “technological abundance” and fair distribution, then neither historical perspective nor prophetic insight is required for the opinion that the road of wayfaring men does not lead back to the old régime. The juncture of the deep-moving forces of war and depression, power-engines and revolutions, misery and aspirations, have changed the world that was beyond the power of the recovery and restoration of the old régime. In the event of further cumulative calamities, will the American road be to the right toward a fascist dictatorship with its promise of security through the power of the corporate or the totalitarian state? Or will it be the road to the left toward the communist dictatorship with its promise of social security and human development through a planned and integrated economy of work?

The establishment of a political dictatorship in the United States would result only, if at all, from the direst cumulative causes. This country is unsuited to a political dictatorship of either the communist or the fascist form. In so far as the United States, as a nation, may have been or may be subject to an actual plutocratic dictatorship, or the dictatorship of pressure groups, or an executive dictator-

ship, such dictatorships have observed the forms and procedures of liberal democracy. National elections have been open and free. Congress has been the source of lawful authority. The courts have been unmolested in the judicial process. The customary freedom of the press, speech, assembly, the churches, and the universities have been untouched and unthreatened by the national government. Both the British and the American tradition, and even their present political climate of emergency, make a poor environment for a political dictatorship.

The Americans are the most individualistic of modern peoples. The first Americans, and millions since, were selected on the basis of initiative and the will to get away from restriction of government, or church, or the stratification and regimentation of privilege. Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence and Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* coincided to the year as the formal birth-cries of American independence and economic freedom. Industrial liberty became a part of the philosophy of political freedom. The freedom of a continent opened a wide frontier to them and developed their robust self-reliance through the successive generations of three centuries.

The frontier has left its deep mark upon the ideas, character, manners, and procedures of their children. The diversity of their economic life, their wide regionalisms with deep conflicts of interest, their far-flung centers of diverse opinions, newspapers and universities, their historic federalism and constitutional checks and balances, with a traditional set against political dictatorship, all combine to make improbable, though not impossible, any despotism that relies on military force rather than on the constitutional forms and methods of liberal democracy.

Moreover, the farmers and industrial workers have enough interests in common and enough power in combination to prevent a fascist dictatorship. For a communist dictatorship there appears less chance, even with a change in the traditional attitude of the American workers. The farmers and the urban middle class overwhelmingly outweigh the proletariat, who are likely to recede in economic power before the technological advance. There is apparently no present prospect of a fascist dictatorship of business men or a communist dictatorship of the proletariat in America.

Whether either dictatorship is soon to attempt to rear its head in America depends on the developments of the New Deal and other resolute and intelligent readjustments of our constitutional federal republic to the needs of both modern democracy and industrial society. We are not going back to the forms without more of the content of democracy. We will no longer accept the husks without more of the inner substance of freedom. In this war-shocked and depression-ridden world the people, disillusioned and despairing, ask for honest work and real security. If democracy can offer work, freedom and security, industrial enterprise and social control, then the way for America is straight ahead on the high road toward the new balance of the advancing technology and an expanding democracy.

On the way up the high road the American people are in the midst of what may be the saving readjustments of our political and economic system to the social and spiritual needs of the people. The need for readjustments involves the development of social controls correspondingly competent to cope with both the concentration of economic power and the failure in the distribution of the "technological abundance"; provision for agriculture as an equal partner in our economic society; the wise management of money as the medium instead of the control by money as the master of the exchange of goods and services; the valid recognition of the responsibilities and values of managers and technicians, stockholders, workers, and consumers, in the organization of industry, the political mechanisms of the government, and the economic structure of society; and the gradual and free development, through education and religion, of the higher incentives in economic enterprise to develop the spiritual worth of every personality and to share the abundant fellowship of truth, goodness, and beauty of human brotherhood of the sons of God.

In the consideration of the need of political and economic adjustments to the social needs and spiritual aspirations of the people, it is well first to consider the adjustments that can be made without amending the Constitution. One of the foremost American political scientists and publicists, in a penetrating analysis at Harvard of the methods of freedom and the chief alternatives of the economic order, rejected *laissez faire*, communism, and fascism. He proposed, instead of an unrestrained economy, a "compensated economy," and

instead of absolute collectivism, a "free collectivism." In addition to the continually developing body of social legislation "in restraint of a rampant individualism in private transactions" and in the interests of workers, consumers, and the public, he would have America also develop further the existing devices for a positive collective control "to redress the balance of private transactions by compensating public actions."

These established collective devices of a compensated economy mobilized by him are the central banking system, public works, the federal power to tax, to regulate the rates of common carriers, to adjust tariffs, and to control the volume and direction of foreign investments. The government thus can, he points out, save when the mass of individuals are spending too much, spend when they are depressed, tax when they are borrowing, and borrow when they are hoarding, push forward public works during private unemployment and slow down with the return of employment, raise and lower railroad rates with the ups and downs of the business cycle, and bring into adjustment tariffs, international payments, foreign investment, and foreign trade.

Through these established collective devices the modern state, he emphasizes, "without imposing an official pattern upon private enterprise," can "balance and correct the mistakes of private transactions" and "control the economy as a whole." This proposal for a publicity-compensated private economy is a real contribution to present thinking in its clear mobilization of our available established collective devices in relation to each other and in relation to the control of our economy as a whole.

A large question, however, remains as to whether all these devices combined sufficiently recognize the increasingly national and dynamic nature of our economic society in its human incidence. For example, social legislation with regard to minimum wages is not possible under any of the constitutionally permitted restraints on private enterprise or by the operation of any of the established devices of federal or state control. We must then look for a further development of the compensated economy than is at present constitutionally permissible for a redress of this social failure of a free collectivism.

Another device of the government which can make economic and

social adjustments in the operations of our federal system is the federal grant-in-aid to states. This device has deep historical rootage and constitutional sanction, and can be used to make the federal republic a more democratic nation of people. For a long period federal grants-in-aid to states have, by contribution or matching of funds, developed, for example, state agricultural colleges, agricultural research, and state road-building.

Revenues collected from the wealth of the nation are thus wisely distributed among the several states in the interests of the whole people. This policy does not violate, but rather recognizes, statehood and enriches state life. This policy can be carried forward in the development of the public welfare and the public schools. Beginnings have already been made in the emergency. Within the federal system and within the Constitution, with federal grants-in-aid to states, there can be arranged for all America a federal-state-county system of public welfare. The states and counties would not give up any of their present responsibilities or activities. Rather, they would take on new dignity, increased local responsibilities, and a wider usefulness in the larger plan of public welfare, comprehensive, co-ordinated and integrated in the interests of all the states and all the people.

Federal grants-in-aid for public welfare and likewise for public education can be the means of establishing a minimum basis of common decency in public welfare and public education in all the states.

The taxing power and the separate grant-in-aid enable Congress to levy upon the national wealth, where it is, for the children, in the states where they are, whether in city slums, on farms, in industrial centers, pine barrens, or mountain coves. Yet federal grants-in-aid, valuable as they are as supplements to the states, cannot go to the center of the national problems of our complex society. While we develop this device for its real but limited values, we must look beyond the federal grants-in-aid.

It is strongly being urged at this time that the interpretation and reinterpretations by the Supreme Court progressively made from time to time is a sufficient method for adapting our political and economic system to the human and social needs as they develop and change from age to age. Many decisions from the days of John Marshall to the present rise to support this view. However, by judicial

decision the Fourteenth Amendment, which was adopted in behalf of the human rights of the emancipated slaves, has become part of the property rights of the corporations. There is not so clear a constitutional basis for a like revolutionary reinterpretation of property rights as human rights.

In connection with this view of the sufficiency of judicial interpretation it is well to recall the substantial saying of the chief justice that the Supreme Court is concerned not with policies as wise or unwise, desirable or undesirable, but with powers as granted or not granted, or as belonging to the federal government or to the several states.

The insufficiency of judicial decisions is clearly revealed in a current journal by a distinguished university authority on constitutional law in his analysis of recent court decisions. Social legislation regulating minimum wages in an intra-state industry would, under standing interpretations of the Constitution, be unconstitutional whether passed by the federal or by the state governments. The state law providing minimum wages is unconstitutional because it violates due process of law. A federal law providing such regulation of intra-state industry is unconstitutional because such matters are exclusively within the province of the states. The state regulation is invalid because it is not within the powers of the state, whereas the federal regulation is nullified because such matters are exclusively within the powers of the states.

Even if the states were constitutionally permitted to provide such regulations, they are not equipped to cope with this type of apparently local matters because they involve the standards, competition, and processes of the industry of the whole nation. It is thus a violation of true federalism to hold the states responsible for controls beyond their nature and powers. The insufficiency of the Constitution, as interpreted by the courts, makes it evident that we must provide a clearer constitutional basis for judicial interpretation of legislation designed to meet the human needs and social hazards as yet unprovided for in our intricate modern society.

In these three approaches within the Constitution to the need of political and economic adjustments we have found valuable resources for readjustment in the devices of "a compensated economy," in the federal grants-in-aid to states, and in the progressive judicial inter-

pretations. We must now look beyond them to the Constitution itself, in relation to the locally sufficient society out of which it came in the eighteenth century and in relation to our own continent-wide locally involved interdependent society for which it operates in the twentieth century in weal and woe.

In the period of the framing and ratification of the Constitution American life was predominantly local in its range and resources. Life was almost entirely self-sufficient in the rural village or local community. Agriculture and handicraft industry were mainly the ways of work and life. Economic security was comparatively complete in the household and local community. A family provided for its own security practically independent of the ways of the world. Local security and local self-government were the two sides of the shield of local self-sufficiency. The new federal republic, recently a confederation of sovereign states, was still a union of states with need for federal regulation of only a comparatively small part of the commerce and life of the people.

Today practically all the communities in America are economically insufficient and interdependent in their standard of living. They are dependent on other people, communities, regions, and nations for the overwhelming part of the things for which they work and by which they live in the modern world. National and international interdependent economic processes and social hazards and the need for national and international public regulation and social security are the two sides of the shield of the great society of national and international exchange.

The readjustments necessary to bring into more intelligent relation our federal union of states and our national economic society must take account of such factors as to the Constitution, federalism, checks and balances, the interstate commerce clause, the police power, the doctrine of states rights, due process of law, and liberty of contract. We do not presume to enter upon a discussion of these political forms and judicial decisions; but we see within the frame of government and legal doctrines a decentralization of the power of the people in the face of mighty corporate concentrations of the power of wealth; the social damages of unfair competition for profits; farmers struggling for economic parity in a system long loaded against them; consumers uninformed, manipulated, and inarticulate in a society

dominated by producers; unorganized and organized workers without equality of bargaining power; and, above them, all the marvelous technological capacities, resulting in the vast production of economic abundance, running along with the glaring social incapacities, resulting in the wide distribution of human misery and despair.

In view of all these maladjustments of the political and economic processes to the social and spiritual needs of the people, it is well to remember that the Constitution itself provides a way for its own amendment. To make a change in the government it is not necessary to overturn the government by violence as the English did in the seventeenth century, the Americans and French in the eighteenth, and the Russians in the twentieth century. The English immediately and the French periodically have direct recourse to popular elections. The Americans, however, must have recourse both periodically to popular elections and occasionally, for a fundamental change, to a constitutional amendment. The British change their historic Constitution by a direct act of Parliament. An amendment to the American document requires an act of Congress and its separate ratification by three-fourths of the states.

These well-known facts are recalled here in view of the present strange alarm at the very suggestion of the amendment of the most strongly guarded Constitution in the history of government. The real threat to the federal republic and the Constitution upon which it stands are those who would mistakenly keep the Constitution brittle and inflexible to the vital human needs of an organic society. It would be counter to the purposes and spirit of the fathers of the Constitution to make the Constitution a political frame of an eighteenth century model too rigid for the expanding economic and social opportunities of the twentieth century. The founders of the Republic who, themselves, amended the Constitution with ten provisions and had heard Jefferson say that a revolution about every twenty years might be necessary would hardly consider it treason to propose in 1935 another amendment in due course to a Constitution framed in 1787.

It will be strange and unnatural if the present crisis in democracy does not result in democratic readjustments which will include an amendment to the federal Constitution. There have been to date three historic occasions for groups of amendments. The first imme-

diately followed the adoption of the Constitution with its failure to include a charter of liberties, for which in part, as the rights of Englishmen in America, the American Revolution was fought. The movement to amend came from the people. As the deposits of their long struggle for liberty and independence they added to the Constitution the ten amendments which still constitute the American bill of rights.

The second major occasion for a group of amendments came out of the shock and social overturn caused by the Civil War. By amendments the reunited states adjusted themselves to their new national status, abolished formally vast private properties in the bodies and lives of human beings, and received into citizenship the emancipated millions. The Civil War amendments are the charter of the human and civil liberties of the Negro people in the United States.

The American people are now in the midst of a third historic occasion for the amendment of their fundamental articles of government. The World War, the world-depression, the repercussions of the examples of peoples unable to make the steep post-war depression grades without violent revolution, the deep internal social shocks of the second industrial revolution, the appeal of venturesome social experiments in behalf of forgotten millions, and the wide stirring of the minds and social conscience of the people—all together prepare the way for an amendment to provide a constitutional basis for a congressional bill of human rights, such as the right to honest work, decent industry-wide minimum standards of hours, wages, and fair competition, equality of bargaining power of workers through organization and of consumers through information, social security against the economic hazards of modern society, and social control of the means of an abundant production of goods for a more abundant distribution of the good life.

As we meet in this University, historic with high traditions and distinguished for liberal learning, we are deeply conscious of the creative participation of the colleges and universities in the carrying on of civilization. Light, liberty, and the social impulse find their home with youth in the colleges or nowhere. Here the doors and windows must be open for the winds of the whole world. As the crosswinds of an age blow through the college halls, the colleges have the responsibility of keeping a balanced place in the curriculum for the

deep riches of the past and the wide social needs of the changing world. Under the wise guidance of teachers with cultural, social, and spiritual insights, the revision of the curriculum, in the long run of history, can be one of the steps in the reconstruction of our civilization.

Yet with all our efforts for human understanding and social adjustment through a compensating economy, federal grants-in-aid to states, judicial reinterpretation, constitutional amendments, a new bill of human rights, and educational curricular revision, this University Chapel reminds us that without a sense of human brotherhood and the sacred worth of every personality, "they labor in vain who build the house." "Our great religious communions search us through with their faith and ideals."

The Jewish people, who gave us the highest conception of the one God, the sovereignty of the moral law, and the greatest book, the greatest life, and one of the greatest cultures in all history, speak to us today through their old and new prophets in the deep moral tones of personal goodness and social justice.

The Catholics represent to us the unity of mankind and a universal sympathy for human beings everywhere in need of mercy and compassion. They bear the cross far and near with its call to sacrifice and heroism in the sharing and giving of life.

The Protestants stand for the individual, his intellectual freedom and his spiritual autonomy. Without mediation of bishop or king, but as individuals in the congregation in direct communion with their Lord, they made over their churches and their states in the name of the people and under the authority of God.

For them all there still speaks the carpenter's Son, at once Jew, Catholic, Protestant, Son of Man, and Son of God, who shared all that He had with all mankind. After two thousand years we crucify mankind and crucify Him with our religious bigotry and persecution, racial hatreds, wars, and motives of gain for ourselves. Today, as sincere Jews, Christians, and human beings, without divisions in His spirit, as we stumble along on our human pilgrimage, may we ever press forward together in the eternal adventure toward the Kingdom of God.

HEALTH UNDER THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

EDGAR SYDENSTRICKER

I

THE scope of the inquiries conducted by the Committee on Economic Security in the field of health was undoubtedly broader than any study of the subject ever before made by a national body which had for its primary purpose the formulation of a social security program. Although the Committee undoubtedly recognized that any measure which renders the wage-earning family more stable would indirectly contribute to lessening sickness as well as aid in meeting the costs of sickness, it also considered more direct measures. Among these were methods of distributing loss of wages due to temporary disability and invalidism and of distributing costs of medical services, provision of more adequate tax-supported medical services and facilities, and the extension of public health measures. There were sound reasons for the broad scope of the Committee's interest in this field. When the Committee first began its work, health insurance was designated as the principal topic for inquiry on the general ground that health insurance is almost universally included in other modern countries as a form of social insurance. But soon after the technical staff, to which the subject of health was specifically assigned, got to work, it was realized that health insurance was only one method by which certain risks to economic security might be lessened. It was pointed out that ill health itself is a risk to economic security. It soon became obvious, therefore, that risks to economic security arising out of ill health could not be dealt with adequately unless problems of the national health and of the health of underprivileged individuals and their families were considered in as comprehensive way as the time allotted for the study would permit.

In thus surveying the entire problem of health in relation to economic security, the Committee on Economic Security, in a sense, followed the example of the National Conservation Commission under

President Theodore Roosevelt. This Commission, it will be recalled, surveyed the problem of health protection as an integral part of the larger question of the conservation of national resources, and produced a memorable report entitled *Report on National Vitality: Its Wastes and Conservation*.¹ This document undoubtedly served to call attention to the need for national action in health conservation, as did the White House Conferences on Child Health in later years under President Hoover. But none of these efforts resulted in a definite national program backed by federal appropriations.

II

During the quarter of a century since the *Report on National Vitality* was published, extraordinary advances in medicine and in community health protection were made, although the national government continued to give niggardly support to medical science and public health measures. In pointing with just pride to the accomplishments of medicine and public health, physicians and sanitarians too frequently overlook failures in the wider application of scientific knowledge in all communities. The fact is, as all students of the subject know, that preventable sicknesses and premature deaths still impose a tremendous and unwarranted burden upon industry, still needlessly mar the happiness of hundreds of thousands of homes, still handicap millions of children, and still cause a frightful waste of human vitality.

The Committee on Economic Security² properly gave emphasis to the gigantic annual money loss in wages caused by sickness in families with small and modest incomes in the United States, which is estimated to be not less than nine hundred million dollars, and to the still larger expenses of medical care, which probably are not less than one and a half billion dollars. These are only the direct costs. The much larger costs of depreciation in capital values of human life are incalculable. Even the direct costs could be borne if they were dis-

¹ Professor Irving Fisher, *Report on National Vitality: Its Wastes and Conservation* (Bull. 30 of the Committee of One Hundred on National Health, prepared for the National Conservation Commission; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909).

² *Report to the President of the Committee on Economic Security, January 15, 1935* (Washington: Government Printing Office).

tributed equally, but they are not. It was pointed out, also, that among an average 1,000,000 persons in the United States, there will occur annually between 800,000 and 900,000 cases of illness. It may be predicted for this average 1,000,000 persons that, though 470,000 will not be sick during a normal year, 460,000 will be sick once or twice, and 70,000 will suffer three or more illnesses. Of those who become ill, one-fourth will be disabled for periods varying from one week to the entire year.

Science has not yet given us the means with which to prevent all of this sickness or to enable everyone to live healthfully until the end of the natural span is reached. But, as I have tried to emphasize in an earlier paper,³ the plain fact must be faced that, notwithstanding great advances in medicine and public health protection, the American people are not so healthy as they have a right to be. Millions of them are suffering from diseases, and over a hundred thousand die annually from causes that are preventable through the use of existing scientific knowledge and the application of common social sense. Ample evidence exists to support this sweeping statement.

The ravages of typhoid fever, diphtheria, and smallpox have been enormously lessened; they ought to be and can be eradicated. The infant death-rate has been cut in half in the last quarter-century, but it can again be cut in half. Mortality from tuberculosis has been reduced by 60 per cent since 1900, and could be halved again. Two-thirds of the annual thirteen thousand maternal deaths are unnecessary. At least three-fourths of a million cases of syphilis are clinically recognized annually; but more than half of these do not obtain treatment at that stage of the disease when the possibility of cure is greatest. We have been rather vociferous in recent years over the health and welfare of children; yet it is estimated that three hundred thousand are crippled, a million or more are tuberculous, and nearly half a million have heart damages or defects.

The mortality of adults of middle or older ages has not appreciably diminished. The expectation of length of life at forty is about the same now as it was in 1850, 1890, or 1900. The mortality of adults who should be in their physical prime—twenty to forty-four years of

³ "Health in the New Deal," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1934.

age—is almost as great as that of the younger group, which includes babies and children. The mortality of persons who ought to be in full mental vigor and still capable of many kinds of physical work is over three times that of the younger adults. In the young adult ages, twenty to thirty-four years, tuberculosis still tops the list as a disease; accidents and homicides snuff out about one life in a thousand annually; organic heart disease appears in even this young age period as the third most important cause of death. All careful studies of illness and physical impairments corroborate these ghastly records; in fact, they reveal even more impressively than mortality statistics the extent to which the vitality of the population is damaged in the most efficient period of life. This disconcerting evidence of impaired efficiency among our adult population takes on a graver significance in view of the changing age of our adult population.

Such facts as the foregoing cannot easily be overlooked in the formulation of any sensible program for economic security. If a simple analysis is made of the problem for practical purposes, the principal risks to economic security arising out of ill health may be classified as follows: (1) loss of efficiency and health itself, and, thus, loss or impairment of the capacity to be employed; (2) loss of earnings resulting from disabling illness among gainfully employed persons; (3) costs of medical care to gainfully employed persons and their families.

No single method of attacking all these risks has as yet been devised. It has been argued by some that greater economic security for families with modest and low incomes, through unemployment compensation, old-age annuities, wage increases, stabilization of employment, or other means, will solve the question. We know, however, that even if everyone had what Dr. Townsend proposes for persons over sixty years of age, many could not bear the expenses of serious illness—if the physician is to be adequately paid and the hospital kept out of debt. Slum clearance and effective housing programs; the better distribution of the so-called supplementary food supplies and the application of the newer knowledge of nutrition through education; the extension of facilities for physical training, recreation, and education in hygiene; sound methods of “population control”—all these are desirable ways in which to aid in health con-

servation but, even taken all together, do not constitute a completely effective attack upon the problem. In addition to these indirect approaches, it was clear that the Committee on Economic Security had in mind the formulation of a more direct program.

In the consideration of such a more direct program, however, the student of the problem is faced with a legion of proposals, a bewildering variety of methods that have been tried in our own country as well as abroad, a conflict in opinions and a confusion in thought among those who might be affected. Space does not permit even a brief presentation of these differences. Broadly speaking, the various measures which have actually been employed with some degree of success are generally recognized as falling into three groups, namely:

1. The reduction of sickness and the promotion of mental and bodily vigor through community or organized preventive methods of proven effectiveness. These are essentially public health services.
2. The provision through government funds of certain kinds of public medical services to the entire population, and of general medical services to indigent and dependent individuals and families.
3. The distribution of income loss due to illness and of the costs of medical care over periods of time and among groups of individuals of that fraction of the population which is financially unable to budget individually against such costs. This procedure is ordinarily termed "health" or "sickness" insurance.

It was along these general lines that the Committee's staff proceeded and, aided by several technical groups of advisers, made a series of recommendations for the Committee's consideration.

III

Of the Committee's recommendations, only those in the field of public health and a few specific ones in the extension of medical services and facilities aided by public relief and works funds have been carried into effect.

As regards public health, the Committee's report to the President said:

It has long been recognized that the Federal, State, and local Governments all have responsibilities for the protection of all of the population against disease. The Federal Government has recognized its responsibility in this respect

in the public-health activities of several of its departments. There also are well-established precedents for Federal aid for State health administration and for local public facilities, and for the loan of technical personnel to States and localities. What we recommend involves no departure from previous practices, but an extension of policies that have long been followed and are of proven worth. What is contemplated is a Nation-wide public-health program, financially and technically aided by the Federal Government, but supported and administered by the State and local health departments.

Under this general recommendation the Committee proposed that the appropriations to the Federal Public Health Service and the Federal Children's Bureau be increased for federal public health work and that federal grants-in-aid to states be made for the extension of health protection in localities unable to finance public health programs, the grants to be allocated by the two federal services. These proposals were embodied in President Roosevelt's message to Congress in which he transmitted the report of the Committee on Economic Security, and appropriations totaling \$13,800,000⁴ were later authorized under the Social Security Act of August 14, 1935. These provisions constitute probably the greatest single step forward in the development of a national public health program that has ever been taken. As Dr. E. L. Bishop, in his presidential address at the 1935 meeting of the American Public Health Association, said, "Passage of the Social Security Act by the last Congress presents the public health profession of this country with the greatest opportunity to establish constructive programs of health service that has been given to any group in our history."

IV

The provision of medical care of certain kinds to the community, as well as to those groups of individuals who, for one reason or another, are unable to obtain medical care except as charity patients of generous physicians, has long been established in tax-supported medical services. It has been estimated that these services amounted to something like \$600,000,000 annually before the depression. The services have included more or less general medical care for persons who are without incomes and for whom some government unit has

⁴ In addition, \$4,350,000 was authorized for crippled children and child welfare.

assumed economic responsibility. It included, also, some medical care, particularly hospital services, for individuals ordinarily self-sustaining who could not, because of insufficient income, meet the so-called catastrophic medical expenses at the time of illness. In addition, institutional care for certain conditions, especially mental disease and tuberculosis, for practically the entire population is a long-recognized practice in this country. The care for certain diseases of public health interest, for example, syphilis and certain other communicable diseases, and diseases of crippled children, is thoroughly recognized. It is a well-known fact, however, that these services are extremely uneven in their distribution. Many communities do not possess facilities for the diagnosis and treatment of diseases which have a definite public health interest. Recent surveys have shown that some rural areas are without any physicians. Other studies have brought to light the fact that in many communities a large proportion of persons with little or no incomes are unable to receive any medical care whatsoever.

Such problems as these obviously could not be met by any scheme of contributory health insurance. They are too large to be adequately dealt with through private philanthropy. Whether they should be regarded as purely local problems is a debated question; the fact is that they have not been solved satisfactorily in a very large number of local communities. Upon the broad assumption that national health is of national concern, the federal government has a definite responsibility for aiding in the solution of these local problems as well as in the task of disease prevention.

Under existing legislation, both of an emergency and of a more permanent character, it would seem that many of these problems should be dealt with by the co-operation of federal, state, and local governments. In many communities there is a distinct lack of hospital beds for mental disease and tuberculosis; and several hundred rural areas are without any hospital facilities. Some localities have been aided by the federal public works program. In areas where there are no physicians, or an insufficient number of physicians and other medical facilities, it would appear that federal assistance is as necessary as in the provision of public health facilities. The provision of medical care for individuals on federal relief was definitely

recognized by the relief administration; yet no provision has been made for medical care of persons on work relief, although such persons are obviously not in a position to pay for it and hospitals in many localities are overburdened with indigent persons or persons on relief and work relief.

All these needs constitute a problem of national magnitude, which is more serious in some sections of the country than in others. It has never been fully met by any well-conceived program of the federal government. The recommendations of the Committee on Economic Security as regards this problem have as yet not been made public.

V

There is a wide divergence of opinion as to the best methods of obtaining a better distribution of medical care among those who are not economically dependent but who are unable to provide against risks to security arising out of sickness. There are still a few who are satisfied with the *status quo*. Others take the view that before any state-wide and national plan is considered, local experimentation with various ways of paying for medical care should be carried on. Some of these experiments have been in operation for some time, and new ones are being started. This is an encouraging sign of a growing consciousness of the situation on the part of the medical profession and of the public. Other proposals involve programs on a larger scale. One recently made is that all persons participating in the old-age annuity plan and unemployment compensation under the Economic Security Act and all others having annual incomes of less than \$2,500 should be given "public care for costly illness," including facilities for accurate diagnosis, obstetrical care, hospital care, home nursing, and the treatment of chronic diseases. Various forms of health insurance frequently have been proposed; and, as pointed out in the report to the President by the Committee on Economic Security, the subject of health insurance was under consideration by its staff as well as by the Committee itself. The Committee said:

We are not prepared at this time to make recommendations for a system of health insurance. We have enlisted the co-operation of advisory groups representing the medical and dental professions and hospital management in the development of a plan for health insurance which will be beneficial alike to the

public and the professions concerned. We have asked these groups to complete their work by March 1, 1935, and to make a further report on this subject by that time or shortly thereafter.

So far, no report on health insurance has been made public, and no announcement has been made as regards the plans of the Social Security Board in dealing with the question of the better distribution of medical care and of wage losses caused by sickness. As is well known, these questions were considered by the Committee's staff at length, in collaboration with technical experts of the American Medical Association, as well as with the medical and other advisory committees already referred to. The only statement so far authorized which reveals what the Committee had in mind is that contained in its report of January 15, 1935. This statement says:

It seems desirable, however, to advise the professions concerned, and the general public, of the main lines along which the studies [health insurance] are proceeding. These may be indicated by the following broad principles and general observations which appear to be fundamental to the design of a sound plan of health insurance.

The report then goes on to outline these broad principles and general observations as follows:

1. The fundamental goals of health insurance are: (a) The provision of adequate health and medical services to the insured population and their families; (b) the development of a system whereby people are enabled to budget the costs of wage loss and of medical costs; (c) the assurance of reasonably adequate remuneration to medical practitioners and institutions; (d) the development under professional auspices of new incentives for improvement in the quality of medical services.

2. In the administration of the services the medical professions should be accorded responsibility for the control of professional personnel and procedures and for the maintenance and improvement of the quality of service; practitioners should have broad freedom to engage in insurance practice, to accept or reject patients, and to choose the procedure of remuneration for their services; insured persons should have freedom to choose their physicians and institutions; and the insurance plan shall recognize the continuance of the private practice of medicine and of the allied professions.

3. Health insurance should exclude commercial or other intermediary agents between the insured population and the professional agencies which serve them.

4. The insurance benefits must be considered in two broad classes: (a) cash payments in partial replacement of wage-loss due to sickness and for maternity cases, and (b) health and medical services.

5. The administration of cash payments should be designed along the same general lines as for unemployment insurance and, so far as may be practical, should be linked with the administration of unemployment benefits.

6. The administration of health and medical services should be designed on a State-wide basis, under a Federal law of a permissive character. The administrative provisions should be adapted to agricultural and sparsely settled areas as well as to industrial sections, through the use of alternative procedures in raising the funds and furnishing the services.

7. The costs of cash payments to serve in partial replacement of wage loss are estimated as from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of pay-roll.

8. The costs of health and medical services, under health insurance, for the employed population with family earnings up to \$3,000 a year, is not primarily a problem of finding new funds, but of budgeting present expenditures so that each family or worker carries an average risk rather than an uncertain risk. The population to be covered is accustomed to expend, on the average, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of its income for medical care.

9. Existing health and medical services provided by public funds for certain diseases or for entire populations should be correlated with the services required under the contributory plan of health insurance.

10. Health and medical services for persons without income, now mainly provided by public funds, could be absorbed into a contributory insurance system through the payment by relief or other public agency of adjusted contributions for these classes.

11. The rôle of the Federal Government is conceived to be principally (a) to establish minimum standards for health insurance practice, and (b) to provide subsidies, grants, or other financial aids or incentives to States which undertake the development of health insurance systems which meet the Federal standards.

VI

What I have said in the foregoing pages and what I shall say by way of a concluding comment should not be interpreted in any way as reflecting the views of the Committee on Economic Security except in so far as its report to the President has been directly quoted. No one who has studied, with a fair degree of sincerity and earnestness, the practical possibilities of mitigating the risks to the economic security of the moderate- or low-income family which arise out of sickness and ill health, can escape the conclusion that public health, in its broad sense, is a national as well as a local responsibility. The prevailing concept of public health responsibilities has been and is too narrow. It is restricted to a few activities such as community sanitation, water supplies and food inspection, control of in-

fectious diseases, education in hygiene, the medical care of the tuberculous and mentally diseased, and the medical care of the indigent. A newer concept which many sanitarians are coming to accept is much broader and far more sound. The public health of the future demands some sensible co-ordination of public health functions with private medical practice, some solution of the economic problems that are involved in obtaining preventive and curative medicine, some set of procedures by which the physician, sanitarian, and social worker can do their best work in preventing disease, in the care of the sick, and in the rehabilitation of the unfortunate. Such a concept in no way postulates any particular form of government. There is no reason why society cannot discharge this responsibility under any form of government through which it can express its will. Nor does this concept postulate "state medicine," "regimentation of physicians," or "Sovietized" control of those who render health services. A comprehensive program based upon such a concept is an integral part of any effective effort to enhance the economic security of all of the population.

MILBANK MEMORIAL FUND
NEW YORK

INDUSTRIAL HOME WORK IN CHICAGO

RUTH WHITE

THE industrial home-work system, which has long been recognized as undesirable from an industrial and social viewpoint, has been in existence in the United States for a century. Under it work is given out by the factory or through contractors, and the workers manufacture the articles in whole or in part in their own homes. Many investigations and attempts at control have been made during the last fifty years; but at the beginning of the depression home work was still being done under conditions that were extremely unfair to the home workers, to their fellow-workers in the factories, and to manufacturers who were forced to meet the competition of those using the home-work system. Between 1929 and 1933, state reports indicated that home work was increasing and that earnings had dropped to even lower levels than had prevailed in preceding years. The only effective way to regulate home work is to abolish it; but the decision in the old case of *In re Jacobs*,¹ holding unconstitutional a New York law prohibiting the manufacture of cigars in homes, has not been reversed, and the slow and expensive method of regulation and inspection was until 1933 regarded as the only way by which the evils could be reduced.

The passage of the National Recovery Act in 1933 provided a new approach to this problem. When manufacturers began to set up fair-trade practices under the N.R.A., it was necessary in many industries in establishing minimum standards for hours and wages to consider the home workers as well as the factory workers. By October, 1934, 107 codes had been adopted which contained provisions either abolishing or regulating home work. In March, 1934, a special home-work committee was appointed in the N.R.A. to study the entire home-work situation, and to make recommendations for meeting the administrative problems that had arisen in connection with the codes.

¹ *In the Matter of the Application of Peter Jacobs*, 98 N.Y. 98 (1885).

At the request of the Administrator of the National Recovery Administration, the Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor made a study of home work in twenty-four industries located in seven widely scattered states during the summer and autumn of 1934. Illinois was not one of these seven states, and no recent comprehensive investigation had been made of home work in Chicago or elsewhere in Illinois.

Illinois has adopted no law regulating home work except the one of 1893,² which was designed to protect the consumer against the health hazards which came from the presence of contagious disease in homes where work was done, and gives to the Health Department authority to confiscate and destroy goods discovered in such homes. The Health Department continues to discover from time to time the manufacture or preparation of food in homes under crowded insanitary conditions,³ but the industrial and social problems created by home work have been little considered in Illinois during this century.

The garment industry, which at one time used hundreds of "home finishers," had, it was well known, moved from homes to factories, but facts were not available as to how much and what other kinds of home work were still being done in Chicago and what were the present hours and rates of pay. This study of home work in Chicago was therefore undertaken by the School of Social Service of the University of Chicago during the autumn of 1934, and the field work was completed during the winter of 1935. It was made possible by the co-operation of the United States Children's Bureau and the Illinois Emergency Relief Administration. The former loaned schedules and assisted in getting the investigation under way, while the latter made possible the employment of six unemployed investigators and one clerk for work on this project.

Information was obtained chiefly through interviews with home workers and with manufacturers and contractors in the industries covered by the study. As it has no control over home work, information as to kinds of work which was being given out and manufac-

² *Laws of Illinois, 1893*, p. 99; *Illinois State Bar Statutes, 1935*, chap. 48, par. 108 ff.

³ U.S. Women's Bureau, *Industrial Home Work* (Bulletin No. 79; Washington, D.C., 1935), p. 9.

turers who employed home workers was not available at the State Department of Labor, and it was therefore necessary to spend considerable time in locating home workers. The superintendent of the public schools in Chicago allowed the investigators to visit selected schools in order to secure from the children the names and addresses of home-working families; information was also sought from settlements, infant welfare centers, and other social agencies. The names of some workers were secured from these sources, and the industrial concerns who were found to be giving out work to these families were then interviewed. Most of the manufacturers then provided complete lists of names and addresses of home workers.

While an effort was made to secure information with regard to all industries using the home-work system, as there was no central source of such information it is possible that home work is being done in Chicago on types of work other than those covered by the study.

The home workers were, on the whole, willing to discuss their work; but, as many of them were on relief, there was some apprehension that the amount of relief might be reduced by the few dollars earned in this way, and they were sometimes reluctant to give information to the investigators who, they thought, looked and acted like the Relief case workers. But most of the families felt that their pay was so inadequate that they were glad to tell their story.

Information was obtained by interviews with workers in 682 Chicago homes, representing a total of 1,407 persons or an average of over two persons⁴ in each home doing home work. As Table I shows, in slightly more than half the families only one person was doing industrial home work; in other homes two or more persons were working. In more than 25 per cent of the cases (185 families) three or more persons were helping with the work. In the art needlework industry usually only one person in the family was doing home work. Certain other work, such as carding bobby pins, stringing tags, or making doll's dresses or party favors, was easily divided among a number of persons, and other members of the family assisted the chief home worker.

⁴ A maximum number of nine workers was reported by one family.

HOME-WORK PROVISIONS OF N.R.A. CODES

A code of fair competition agreed upon under the National Recovery Administration covered an industry as a whole and was national in scope. These codes made possible more effective regulation

TABLE I
NUMBER OF HOME WORKERS IN FAMILY DOING INDUSTRIAL HOME WORK

INDUSTRY	FAMILIES OF INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS						
	Total	Number of Industrial Home Workers in Family					
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or More
Art needlework:							
Hand embroidery (samples)....	145	124	16	5	.....	.....	.....
Knitted or crocheted articles (samples).....	47	47	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Embroidery or crocheting (for resale).....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Women's neckwear.....	127	86	33	5	1	2	.....
Bobby pins—carding.....	105	5	21	24	30	18	7
Tags.....	88	12	16	22	11	13	14
Toys:							
Doll's dresses, favors.....	47	14	21	10	1	.....	1
Cotton garments:							
Embroidery, applique, or fagoting.....	24	12	7	4	1	.....	.....
Garters and sanitary belts.....	19	9	6	.....	.....	.....	4
Punchboard manufacturing:							
Placing numbers in holes.....	17	8	6	2	1	.....	.....
Schiffli embroidery:							
Cutting lace and embroidery scallops, etc.....	17	10	3	1	2	1	.....
Artificial flowers.....	10	3	5	.....	1	1	.....
Handkerchiefs:							
Hemming, applique, etc.....	9	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other.....	19	13	3	2	1	.....	.....
Total.....	682	359	138	75	49	35	26

of home work than had ever been possible under state laws. Not only had the states been limited by the courts but, since the jurisdiction of state laws stops at the state lines, a state having a home-work law, although it can enforce the provisions of its law within its own borders, loses control of work sent into other states. Similarly, it is difficult or impossible to enforce in the receiving state the law

against manufacturers in another state. It was hoped that through the code system the constitutional difficulties encountered by the states in abolishing home work and in regulating the hours and conditions of work had been surmounted and that what neither state nor the United States could do directly by legislation could be accomplished by the code device. While that hope has been at least temporarily destroyed by the *Schechter* case,⁵ the value of the code regulations has not all been lost, and in any event they were of great importance at the time this study was made.

Of the 107 codes which contained home-work provisions on October 1, 1934, just before this Chicago study was started, 90 provided for complete abolition of home work either upon the date the code became effective or within a stated period. Ten codes restricted the practice to specific operations or provided for a gradual reduction in the number of workers with eventual abolition possible; the remaining seven codes provided for regulation of home work and established rates of pay to be observed by the entire industry. Certain other codes, which did not make specific mention of home work, defined the term "employee" in such a way that home work was apparently included and was subject to the same wage, hours, and child labor provisions as factory work.

Of the ninety industries which prohibited home work either on the date the codes became effective or on specified dates, the following were the most important from the standpoint of the number employed: men's clothing, cloak and suit, artificial flower and feather, corset and brassiere, medium- and low-priced jewelry, men's garter, suspender, and belt, men's neckwear, millinery, powder puff, toy and playthings, undergarment and negligee, underwear, and pleating and stitching, Bonnaz and embroidery industries.

Of other industries in which home work was limited to specific operations or was regulated or controlled by the codes, the following were the most important: art needlework, fresh-water pearl button, cotton garment, handkerchief, infants' and children's wear, knitted outerwear, ladies' handbags, leather and woolen knit gloves, and light sewing industries. While the code for the lace industry did not mention home work, it defined employees so as to include home

⁵ *A. L. A. Schechter Poultry Corp. et al. v. United States*, 295 U.S. 495 (1935).

workers, and wage and hour regulations set up by the code for factory employees apparently applied to them.

Between October 1, 1934, and May, 1935, nine additional codes were adopted (a total of 118) with provisions relating to home work. Of these, ninety-six prohibited home work, twenty limited the work or controlled it in some way, and two codes provided for administrative action with reference to home work.⁶

For the purposes of this study, the following codes and code provisions which cover the types of home work discovered in the investigation have special significance:

Code and Effective Date	Home-Work Provisions ⁷
<i>Artificial flower and feather industry</i> , September 25, 1933...	Home work prohibited after May 1, 1934 (Code No. 29, Art VIII, sec. 1)
<i>Women's belt industry</i> , October 13, 1933.....	No home work permitted (Code No. 41, Art III)
<i>Handkerchief industry</i> , ⁸ October 19, 1933.....	After January 1, 1934, home work was prohibited except on handkerchiefs made entirely by hand or on those on which the labor cost of the hand operations was 60 per cent or more of the total labor cost, provided the wholesale price of the finished article was not less than \$3.50 per dozen (Code No. 53, Art IV, secs. 8 and 9)
Amendment 2, October 31, 1934.....	Home work allowed on handkerchiefs made entirely by hand (Art. IV, sec. 8, as amended)
<i>Fabricated metal products and metal finishing and metal coating industry</i> (including manufacture of bobby pins) November 12, 1933.....	No home-work provisions in code (Code No. 84)

⁶ A number of codes which had provided for limitation or control of home work also provided for further administrative action with reference to home work.

⁷ Special permits could be issued under Executive Order No. 6711-A to home workers in industries in which home work was prohibited, except in industries engaged in the manufacture of food or allied products.

⁸ The code provided for further administrative action looking to reduction, regulation, or abolition of home work in the industry.

INDUSTRIAL HOME WORK IN CHICAGO

29

Code and Effective Date	Home-Work Provisions
<i>Toy and playthings industry,</i> November 13, 1933.....	Home work prohibited after January 1, 1934 (Code No. 86, Art. III, sec. 7). Exemptions were granted to certain firms, for a six-months period and were extended for a second six months.
<i>Leather and woolen knit gloves,⁸</i> November 13, 1933.....	Home work to be reduced 25 per cent within six months and a further reduction of 25 per cent within one year (Code No. 87, Art. V, sec. 8)
<i>Men's garter, suspender and belt manufacturing,</i> November 19, 1933.....	Home work prohibited after May 1, 1934 (Code No. 94, Art. VIII, sec. 1)
<i>Cotton garments,⁸</i> November 27, 1933.....	Machine work in homes was prohibited. Home work was permitted on hand embroidery which was incidental to the manufacture of garments (Code No. 118, Art. VII)
<i>Musical merchandise manufacturing industry</i> (including manufacture of covers for musical instruments), January 29, 1934.....	No home-work provisions in code (Code No. 209)
<i>Tag industry,⁸</i> February 12, 1934; amendment 1, November 4, 1934.....	Abolition of home work was scheduled for May 1, 1934, in the code (Code No. 249, Art. V, sec. 9). A stay was granted; abolition became effective January 1, 1935 (Code No. 249, Art. V, sec. 9, as amended)
<i>Schiffli, the hand machine embroidery, and the embroidery thread and scallop cutting industry,</i> February 12, 1934.....	The code provided for abolition of home work six months after the effective date of the code ⁹ (Code No. 256, Art. IV, sec. 2)

⁹ Home work actually continued after that date. The code had provided that the code authority should gather facts regarding home work and make recommendations to the Administrator, who, after due hearing, was to determine whether the prohibition should be modified, canceled, or continued. The code authority did not report within the specified time and home work was continued.

Code and Effective Date	Home-Work Provisions
<i>Pleating, stitching, and Bonnaz and hand embroidery</i> , February 19, 1934.....	Home work prohibited after June 1, 1934 (Code No. 276, Art. IV, sec. 7)
<i>Beauty and barber shop mechanical equipment</i> , February 26, 1934.....	Home work prohibited (Code No. 286, Art. V, sec. 8)
<i>Art needlework industry</i> , ⁸ March 26, 1934.....	Home work prohibited except on finishing of display models and samples not intended for resale (Code No. 335, Art. V, sec. 6)
<i>Men's neckwear</i> , April 2, 1934..	No home work permitted after May 14, 1934 (Code No. 363, Art. V, sec. 1)
<i>Pecan shelling</i> , October 29, 1934.....	No home-work provisions (Code No. 528)
<i>Punch board manufacturing</i> , November 9, 1934.....	No home-work provisions in code (Code No. 316)
<i>Women's neckwear and scarf manufacturing</i> , ⁸ January 7, 1935.....	Home work regulated by provision that at least one-half of the number of articles of each type were to be made in the factory and the rates of pay for home work were not to be less than the rates of pay for such work in the factory (Code No. 538, Art. III, sec. 4). (No regulation in effect at time of study)
<i>Supplement 2: Electrical manufacturing—portable electric lamps and shades</i> , Amendment 1, March 4, 1935.....	No home work permitted after May 13, 1935 (Code No. 4B, Art. XIV)
<i>Bowling and billiard equipment industry and trade</i> (including manufacture of billiard table pockets), April 8, 1935.....	No home-work provisions in the code. (Code No. 557). (Code not in effect at time of study)

Since it was believed that the immediate abolition of home work would be a hardship to the workers who were handicapped for fac-

tory work, the President, on May 15, 1934, issued an executive order exempting certain groups of workers from the home-work provisions of the code.¹⁰ This order permitted any individual who was physically incapacitated for work in a factory, or any person who was needed in the home to care for an invalid, or workers who had been accustomed to home work in the past and were too old to adjust to factory routine, to continue to do home work. The order was administered by the United States Department of Labor for the National Recovery Administration in co-operation with state departments of labor. It was the purpose of this study to determine how much this new system had done to eliminate home work and what were the next steps in control of this generally admitted industrial evil.

HOURS OF WORK

As Table I shows, it was found that home work of the following types was being done in 682 homes: art needlework, women's neckwear, bobby pins, tags, toys, cotton garments, garters and sanitary belts, punchboard manufacturing, schiffli embroidery, artificial flowers, handkerchiefs, other. The hours worked by the chief home workers were secured for the week preceding the interview in 598 of the 682 families included in the study. As Table II shows, more than one-fourth of the total number, worked longer than the prevailing code limit of forty hours a week permitted. A few reported excessively long hours; for example, 4 per cent of the home workers worked seventy or more hours during the week scheduled. Ninety-six hours, the longest work week, was reported by a girl eighteen years old. By sewing twelve to fourteen hours a day she was able to average about \$10 a week. Her family consisted of a father, mother, and sister, seven years old. The father had part-time work, but had earned only \$19 during the previous month. The girl left high school in her Senior year in order to increase the family income in this way.

In the art needlework and in the women's neckwear industries especially long weekly hours were reported. About one-half of the women doing hand embroidery, and one-third of those making

¹⁰ "Proscribing Rules and Regulations for the Interpretations and Application of Certain Labor Provisions of Codes of Fair Competition as They May Affect Certain Homeworkers," *Executive Order No. 6711-A* (Washington, May 15, 1934).

knitted or crocheted samples, women's neckwear, or toys worked more than forty hours during the week for which information was secured.

Those engaged in carding bobby pins or in stringing tags reported shorter hours than home workers in other industries. In both these,

TABLE II
PERCENTAGE OF CHIEF HOME WORKERS WORKING SPECIFIED
NUMBER OF WEEKLY HOURS, BY INDUSTRY

INDUSTRY	FAMILIES OF INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS												
	Total Reported		Percentage of Chief Home Workers Working Specified Number of Weekly Hours*										
	Number	Per Cent†	Less than 10	10, Less than 20	20, Less than 30	30, Less than 40	40, Less than 50			50, Less than 60	60, Less than 70	70, Less than 80	80 or More
							Total	40	41, Less than 50				
Art needlework:													
Hand embroidery (samples).....	130	100	2	9	12	23	18	5	14	17	12	5	2
Knitted or crocheted articles (samples).....	36	100	11	25	25	3	11	6	6	.....	14	6	6
Embroidery or crocheting (for resale).....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Women's neckwear.....	110	100	5	9	17	24	20	8	12	9	7	2	6
Bobby pins—carding.....	102	100	18	56	23	3	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tags.....	72	100	49	28	13	7	4	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Toys:													
Doll's dresses, favors.....	37	100	3	11	27	24	16	8	8	14	3	.....	3
Cotton garments:													
Embroidery, applique or fagoting.....	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Garters and sanitary belts.....	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Punchboard manufacturing:													
Placing numbers in holes.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Schiffli embroidery:													
Cutting lace and embroidery scallops, etc.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Artificial flowers.....	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Handkerchiefs:													
Hemming, applique, etc.....	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other.....	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	598†	100	12	23	18	14	14	4	10	9	6	2	2

* Percentage not shown where number of cases is less than 25.

† Exclusive of 84 chief home workers for whom weekly hours were not reported.

the finished articles had to be returned promptly, the operations were simple, and usually more than one person in the family helped with the work. Since the bobby pins were delivered to the contractors in the late afternoon and were collected early the next morning, the entire family usually worked after the evening meal was over.

Long as were the hours of some of the Chicago workers, the median number of hours worked by the chief home workers included in this Chicago study was twenty-six. An investigation made in Pennsylvania in 1934 showed the median weekly hours of home workers in that state to be thirty-five hours.¹¹ The shorter median hours in Chicago were largely due to the shorter hours spent in carding bobby pins and stringing tags, industries which were represented by a relatively smaller number of workers in Pennsylvania than in Chicago. Twenty-nine per cent of the chief home workers in both Pennsylvania and Chicago reported over forty hours a week. In the cities covered by the Children's Bureau study, 40 per cent reported weekly hours of forty or more, as compared with 33 per cent in Chicago.¹²

EARNINGS

Hourly earnings are the best basis for comparison of the wages in the different home-work industries and in factory work. These could not always be ascertained, as in many cases several members of the family assisted with the work and they did not keep track of the hours of the individual members of the family or the hourly or weekly earnings of each person. Where there was only one home worker or where the work was of such a nature that one person completed the entire process, it was possible to obtain this information for the individual who did the greatest amount of work and who is called in this report the chief home worker.

In 514 of the 682 families included in the study, it was possible to obtain what is believed to be reliable reports for the chief home workers. As Table III shows, their hourly earnings ranged from 1 to 63 cents an hour. Only one such worker earned as much as 63 cents, while seven persons received less than 2 cents an hour. Two per cent of those for whom information was secured received 35 cents an hour, the usual code wage, about one-fourth earned less than 6 cents an hour, and over one-half (269) earned less than 10 cents an hour. The median hourly earnings for the 514 was 9 cents. These

¹¹ Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, Bureau of Women and Children, *Industrial Home Work in Pennsylvania under the N.R.A.* (mimeographed report, March 1, 1935), p. 13.

¹² United States Children's Bureau, *Industrial Home Work under the N.R.A.* (report not yet published).

rates of pay are very similar to those found in the Children's Bureau study, which showed that 55 per cent earned less than 10 cents an hour, and in Pennsylvania, where the median hourly wage in 1934 was 10 cents.

Hourly earnings varied with the industry and the process upon which the worker was engaged, as Table IV shows. More than one-third of the persons doing hand embroidery in the art needlework in-

TABLE III
HOURLY EARNINGS OF CHIEF HOME WORKERS

Hourly Earnings	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Less than 2 cents	7	1
2 cents, less than 4 cents	35	7
4 cents, less than 6 cents	88	17
6 cents, less than 8 cents	84	17
8 cents, less than 10 cents	55	11
10 cents, less than 12 cents	58	11
12 cents, less than 14 cents	44	9
14 cents, less than 16 cents	41	8
16 cents, less than 18 cents	18	4
18 cents, less than 20 cents	15	3
20 cents, less than 25 cents	30	6
25 cents, less than 30 cents	16	3
30 cents, less than 35 cents	13	3
35 cents or more	10	2
Total reported	514	100
Not reported	168	.....
Total	682	.....

dustry earned less than 5 cents an hour, and only two persons had earnings in excess of 15 cents an hour, the highest being 19 cents. The hourly rate for persons doing knitting and crocheting, while very low for such work, was somewhat higher than for those doing hand embroidery. Only two of the former earned less than 5 cents, about one-half less than 15 cents, and four earned 35 cents or more an hour. The median hourly earning for persons doing embroidery was 5 cents; knitting or crocheting 14 cents. There were many complaints by the workers with regard to rates paid for knitting. Knitting or crocheting fine light-weight yarns took much longer than the coarser yarns, and some of the patterns were relatively simple, while

other designs were intricate. The rate of pay, however, was usually 75 cents for 100 yards of yarn, regardless of the type of yarn or pattern of the article which was made.

Of the home workers making women's neckwear, five earned less than 5 cents an hour while two persons earned over 30 cents an

TABLE IV
PERCENTAGE OF CHIEF HOME WORKERS EARNING HOURLY
RATES SPECIFIED, BY INDUSTRY

INDUSTRY	FAMILIES OF INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS													Not Re- ported
	Total	Total Reported		Percentage of Chief Home Workers Earning Hourly Rates Specified*										
		Num- ber	Per Cent*	Less than 5 cents	5 cents, less than 10 cents	10 cents, less than 15 cents	15 cents, less than 20 cents	20 cents, less than 25 cents	25 cents, less than 30 cents	30 cents, less than 35 cents	35 cents, or More			
Art needlework:														
Hand embroidery (sam- ples)	145	126	100	41	52	6	2						19	
Knitted or crocheted ar- ticles (samples)	47	36	100	6	28	19	19	6	6	6	11		11	
Embroidery or crocheting, (for resale)	8	8												
Women's neckwear	127	91	100	5	34	36	11	8	3	2			36	
Bobby pins—carding	105	71	100		31	48	17	4					34	
Tags	88	66	100	26	29	21	15	0	2	2			22	
Toys:														
Doll's dresses, favors	47	27	100	11	63	22		4					20	
Cotton garments:														
Embroidery, applique, or fagoting	24	19											5	
Garters and sanitary belts	19	11											8	
Punchboard manufactur- ing:														
Placing numbers in holes	17	13											4	
Schiffli embroidery:														
Cutting lace and em- broidery scallops, etc.	17	14											3	
Artificial flowers	10	6											4	
Handkerchiefs:														
Hemming, applique, etc.	9	8											1	
Other	19	18											1	
Total	682	514	100	18	35	24	10	6	3	3	2		168	

* Per cent not shown where number of families is less than 25.

hour. For 75 per cent of the chief home workers on neckwear, hourly earnings were less than 15 cents, and the median was 10 cents.

Carding bobby pins and stringing tags are both simple repetitive processes. In many cases the workers had timed themselves and knew the volume of work they produced in an hour, and for this reason it was usually possible to secure a report on hourly earnings

of the chief home worker even though two or more persons in the household assisted with the work. The minimum hourly rate reported for carding bobby pins was 5 cents, the maximum 22 cents. About one-third of the workers earned less than 10 cents, and for slightly less than one-half, the hourly rate was from 10 to 15 cents. The median hourly earning was 11 cents.

For 26 per cent of the persons stringing tags, the hourly earnings were less than 5 cents, while one person had earned 30 cents an hour on a rush job during the week scheduled. Reference has already been made to the fact that on December 1, 1934, there was an increase of 100 per cent or more in the rates for stringing tags under the N.R.A. code. This increase is reflected in the schedules taken before and after the new rates were in operation. Thirty-four of forty-six workers interviewed before the new rates of pay became effective reported hourly earnings of from 1 cent to 16 cents and median earnings of $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents. After the new rates went into effect forty-two tag stringers were interviewed and hourly rates secured; the range for this group was from 2 cents to 30 cents, with a median of 14 cents. The person who earned only 2 cents an hour was a woman sixty-nine years old who did this work as a pastime and to earn a little spending money.

Eight persons doing embroidery or other hand work on cotton garments earned less than 5 cents an hour, and only one earned more than 15 cents. Of the nineteen home workers making garters or sanitary belts, only two earned the minimum code wage of 35 cents an hour, although the executive order under which special permits for home work were granted to this group specifically stated that the home worker should receive the same rate of pay as the factory worker doing the same type of work. Under the special exemption granted to the firms giving out party decorations in the toy industry, home workers were to earn the minimum code wage of 30 cents an hour, but none of the workers interviewed even approached this hourly wage.

Although code provisions had raised the home worker's rate of pay in a few industries, the code regulations were often disregarded and hourly rates of pay were, except in a very few cases, appallingly low.

That the total weekly earnings of all the persons in the family who helped with the work was also very low is shown by the fact that 10

INDUSTRIAL HOME WORK IN CHICAGO

37

per cent of the families earned less than \$1.00 and 46 per cent less than \$3.00 a week. In families having only one home worker, the earnings of over half were less than \$3.00. Earnings were slightly

TABLE V
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES EARNING SPECIFIED
WEEKLY AMOUNTS FROM HOME WORK, BY INDUSTRY

INDUSTRY	FAMILIES OF INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS												
	Total	Per Cent Distribution of Families Earning Specified Weekly Amounts from Home Work*											
		Total Reported		Less than \$1.00	\$1.00 less than \$2.00	\$2.00 less than \$3.00	\$3.00 less than \$4.00	\$4.00 less than \$5.00	\$5.00 less than \$7.50	\$7.50 less than \$10	\$10 less than \$12.50	\$12.50 less than \$15.00	\$15 and Over
		Number	Per Cent*										
Art needlework:													
Hand embroidery (samples).....	145	145	100	9	32	27	23	4	5	1			
Knitted or crocheted articles (samples).....	47	46	100	7	13	15	22	17	13	2	11		
Embroidery or crocheting (for resale).....	8	7											
Women's neckwear.....	127	127	100	3	11	16	17	17	24	7	3		1
Bobby pins—carding.....	105	105	100	1	3	15	16	14	34	10	1	1	1
Tags.....	88	88	100	40	26	19	8	3	3				
Toys:													
Doll's dresses, favors.....	47	47	100	9	9	17	17	11	28	4	4		2
Cotton garments:													
Embroidery, applique, or fagoting.....	24	24											
Garters and sanitary belts.....	19	19											
Punchboard manufacturing:													
Placing numbers in holes.....	17	17											
Schiffli embroidery:													
Cutting lace and embroidery, scallops, etc.....	17	17											
Artificial flowers.....	10	10											
Handkerchiefs:													
Hemming, applique, etc.....	9	9											
Other.....	19	19											
Total.....	682	680†	100	10	18	18	16	10	18	5	4	1	1

* Per cent not shown where number of families is less than 25.

† No report for one family each in knitted articles and embroidery and crocheting, hence total number here 680 instead of 682.

higher when two or more worked together, but about one-third of such families reported an income of less than \$3.00. As Table V shows, the weekly earnings were \$15 or more in only 10 cases, or 1 per cent.

Low wages were also reported in the Pennsylvania investigation

TABLE VI
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOME WORK FAMILIES EARNING
SPECIFIED WEEKLY AMOUNTS IN CHICAGO COMPARED WITH
HOME WORKERS' EARNINGS IN PENNSYLVANIA AND IN AREAS
INCLUDED IN CHILDREN'S BUREAU STUDY

Weekly Earnings	Chicago	Pennsyl- vania*	Areas In- cluded in Children's Bureau Study†
Total reporting.....	100	100	100
Less than \$1.00.....	10	8	13
\$1.00, less than \$3.00.....	35	35	35
\$3.00, less than \$5.00.....	26	27	22
\$5.00, less than \$10.....	23	23	19
\$10 and over.....	6	8	11
Median.....	\$3.14	\$3.54	\$3.17

* Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, Bureau of Women and Children, *Industrial Home Work in Pennsylvania under the N.R.A.* (mimeographed report, March 1, 1935), p. 27.

† United States Children's Bureau, *Industrial Home Work under the N.R.A.* (report not yet published).

TABLE VII
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOME WORKERS WORKING SPECIFIED NUMBER
OF WEEKLY HOURS, BY WEEKLY EARNINGS WITH ONLY ONE PERSON
DOING INDUSTRIAL HOME WORK

WEEKLY EARNINGS	TO- TAL	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOME WORKERS WORKING SPECIFIED NUMBER OF WEEKLY HOURS*								NOT RE- PORT- ED
		Total Re- ported	Less than 10	10 less than 20	20 less than 30	30 less than 40	40 less than 50	50 less than 60	60 or More	
Less than \$1.00.....	29	8	.....	13	5	5	2	5	.....	2
\$1.00 less than \$3.00..	153	43	.....	63	45	48	33	37	26	8
\$3.00 less than \$5.00..	94	26	.....	15	29	25	42	24	33	2
\$5.00 less than \$7.50..	46	13	.....	6	16	8	13	16	26	3
\$7.50 less than \$10.00	14	4	.....	.....	2	7	2	8	7	2
\$10.00 less than \$12.50	12	3	.....	2	3	3	5	5	4	.....
\$12.50 less than \$15.00	6	2	.....	.....	.....	3	5	3	.....	.....
\$15.00 and over.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	4	.....
Earnings reported.....	357	100	.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	17
Not reported.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Total.....	359	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	19

* Per cent not shown where number of cases working specified number of hours is less than 25.

and in the one by the Children's Bureau in seven states; but as Table VI shows, a considerably smaller percentage of the Chicago workers earned as much as \$10 a week, and Chicago's median wage was lowest.

A better picture of the wage rates is given in Table VII, in which weekly earnings when only one person was engaged in the work are given. Although earnings increased with longer hours of work, the hours were exceedingly long in relation to the amount earned in almost every instance. For example, more than one-third of the persons who worked between forty and fifty hours earned less than \$3.00; only a very small number of those who worked less than forty hours earned \$5.00 or more for the week, and in the group working sixty hours or more, 59 per cent earned less than \$5.00 a week. By working very long hours, these women, most of whom were also mothers and housekeepers, earned a few dollars for the family support.

TRANSPORTATION AND OTHER COSTS

The home worker had to pay from his very low earnings certain costs. Carfare was one such item for some. In a small number of cases the work was delivered to the home worker and the finished product was collected by the factory or contractor. But in most cases the home worker called at the factory or office of the contractor for the work. A number of factories hired workers from the neighborhood so that it would not be necessary for them to use street cars or other means of transportation, but some were located in the downtown business district and practically none of their home workers were within walking distance of the office. One firm giving out art needlework reimbursed the workers for carfare, or postage, and any necessary telephone calls in connection with the work. Another firm, also art needlework, paid carfare on rush orders when the home worker's pay for the finished article was less than \$1.00. Another paid carfare if the finished work was returned within ten days. And there were a few other instances in which carfare was paid.

On the whole, however, the workers who were not within walking distance of the factory had to pay carfare. Of the 682 families interviewed, 208 reported expenditures for this purpose. While these

workers frequently made only one trip a week, at a cost of 14 cents, for many, more than one trip was necessary. One woman who knit garments for a large department store made three trips during one week at a cost of 60 cents in money and nine hours in time, including time spent in the store's workshop receiving instructions and making samples. Her earnings for the week were \$2.25. Another worker spent 40 cents carfare during the week and earned \$2.00. One worker reported \$1.00 for carfare and earnings of \$4.65 during the week, and another, earnings of \$11.25 with the same expenditure for transportation.

No one carding bobby pins reported expenditures for carfare. In the tag industry, also, the work was returned promptly, and most of the workers were within walking distance, but six workers reported expenditures for carfare which meant 14 cents for each lot of tags during the week. One girl of fourteen went to the factory every day after school, using a special ticket issued to school children, so that each round trip cost 6 cents. She secured work on only two days during the week scheduled. This girl and a fifteen-year-old sister were the home workers in this family, which consisted of father, mother, and seven children, the youngest being twins one year old. The father was unemployed and the family received relief. With an expenditure of 30 cents for carfare, the earnings were 99 cents for the week for which a schedule was taken. While one company which manufactured ladies' neckwear gave out a generous supply of work at one time, another gave less, necessitating frequent trips to the distribution center and high costs of transportation. Out of \$7.70 earned by one family, 70 cents went for carfare; another spent 56 cents out of weekly earnings of \$4.70.

Sometimes an unemployed husband or other member of the family called for and delivered the work, and sometimes the children had this duty. Some of the factories and contractors, notably contractors in the bobby pin manufactures, refused to give work to children under sixteen. A manufacturer of tags required that a form be signed by an adult home worker in the family promising that no child under sixteen would be employed on the work; the children were then allowed to carry the work back and forth in wagons or carts.

Only a relatively small number of home workers (forty-seven) re-

ported that the firm giving out work required a deposit to cover possible loss to the company, and all but five of those required to make such deposits were employed making party favors of various types. One company required a deposit of one dollar which was to be returned when the home worker discontinued work, and another returned the deposit after the home worker had done \$5.00 worth of work. Three families doing work for one firm in the schiffli embroidery industry stated that the company required a deposit of one dollar on a pair of scissors with curved points which were especially adapted to the work. Much larger deposits ranging from \$2.50 to \$10.00 were required from families engaged in making knitted and crocheted outerwear in the cities included in the recent Children's Bureau investigation.¹³

The policy of a bobby pin company was to charge one cent for a shortage of three cards. Only 27 families, however, reported such a charge. Two contractors used disciplinary measures, laying workers off for a week or two if the work was done carelessly. Two workers on punch boards reported a small charge for cards damaged in some way. Several families making women's neckwear reported that they had had to pay for collars which were spoiled and were given the collars. One woman reported that she spoiled a dozen collars when she first started working and her pay for the week's work was reduced from \$2.80 to 90 cents plus the collars. If a collar was soiled, $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 cents was deducted. A few persons doing art embroidery reported that if the work was spoiled they were allowed to do it over or to buy the piece for the price of the materials. One person paid 18 cents for a dresser scarf which was not accepted and sold the finished piece to a neighbor for 90 cents.

As during this period of unemployment there was keen competition for even these low-paid jobs, the work was carefully done and a relatively small number of workers reported that they had been charged for loss or spoilage.

There were numerous complaints by workers who were knitting or crocheting that instructions were not given correctly or the needles were the wrong size and that work had to be done over on

¹³ United States Children's Bureau, *Industrial Home Work under the N.R.A.* (report not yet published).

this account. One worker reported that she spent one and one-half weeks knitting a triangular scarf until she found "the sure and easy way." She felt that proper instructions would have saved experimentation. Two persons who were crocheting collars reported that the contractor found a shortage of thread at the end of one week and divided the loss among all persons who had worked during the week, each one paying \$1.15. Some of the workers discontinued work after this episode.

Machines, special needles, and scissors were frequently needed for home work. In 63 instances the necessary equipment was provided free by employers, in 362 the home worker provided it, while no special equipment was used by the other 257. The greatest expense was incurred in the purchase or upkeep of sewing machines used in making women's neckwear, garters, sanitary belts, etc. Many of the home workers were using foot pedal machines, but others had electric ones, although the cost as reported in a number of cases was from \$120 to \$129. Payments of from one to six dollars a month were made on these machines, which were purchased on the instalment plan. But earnings are less and fatigue greater when the home worker is unable to provide herself with an electric sewing machine, and so the home workers met these payments, although very reluctantly. There were also reports of expenditures by home workers for repairs, purchase of attachments for hemming and binding, needles, machine oil, and sharpening scissors. The cost of running an electric sewing machine was estimated in a number of cases to be from 25 cents to one dollar a month, depending on the amount of work done. All these costs are paid by the industry when the work is done in the factory, but under the home-work system they come out of the already extremely low wages of the home worker.

THE HOME WORKER'S NATIONALITY AND ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH

It is often assumed that only the foreign born do home work, but in about one-half of the families interviewed the chief home workers were native-born white persons; thirteen were American Negro,¹⁴

¹⁴ An investigation of "Negro Home Workers in Chicago," by Myra Hill Colson, (*Social Service Review*, II [1928], 385-413), showed that out of 100 such workers, 65 were working on lamp shades and 31 on artificial flowers. The earnings, while low, were on the whole higher than white or Negro received in 1934 and 1935.

and in the remaining families (329) the chief home worker was foreign born. This racial distribution is very similar to that shown by the 1930 census for heads of families in Chicago, when 50.1 per cent of the heads of families reported native white, 42.8 per cent foreign-born white, and 6.5 per cent Negroes.¹⁵ There were twenty-four nationalities represented in the home-work group, Polish and Italian being the most numerous. Of the ninety-five Polish families, sixty-

TABLE VIII
RACE AND NATIONALITY OF CHIEF HOME WORKER

Race and Nationality	Number	Per Cent Distribution
White.....	669	98
Native.....	340	50
Foreign born.....	329	48
Polish.....	95	14
Italian.....	90	13
German.....	40	6
Swedish.....	15	2
Lithuanian.....	14	2
Danish.....	10	2
Greek.....	9	1
Hungarian.....	7	1
Norwegian.....	6	1
Czecho-Slovakian.....	5	1
English.....	5	1
Other or not reported.....	33	5
Negro.....	13	2
Total.....	682	100

seven were engaged in carding bobby pins, while thirty-seven of the ninety Italian families were stringing tags. In most cases, however, there seemed to be no relationship between nationality and type of home work done.

In the 329 families in which the chief home worker was foreign born, sixty-eight were unable to speak English—about 20 per cent of the foreign-born group. The inability of the chief home worker to speak English was doubtless a handicap if she wished to find work

¹⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, *Fifteenth Census of the United States; 1930, Population*; Vol. VI, *Families*, Table 63, p. 56.

outside the home. In many of these families the younger persons who did speak English and were assisting with the home work were all seeking or preferred regular employment outside the home.

CHILDREN AS HOME WORKERS

The majority of home workers as of factory workers were between twenty and fifty years of age, but young children and many who were over fifty helped on the home work. Of the 1,407 home workers, 193, or 14 per cent, were reported to be children under sixteen years of age. It is believed that this is an understatement of the number of children who were employed part time on the home work in the families visited as there was an evident reluctance in many cases to admit that children under sixteen were working. A number of the chief home workers had signed an agreement that no children would be allowed to assist in the work, and they feared loss of the opportunity to do home work; others thought violation of the provisions of the N.R.A. codes¹⁶ might lead to trouble for them and they were therefore reluctant to discuss the work of the children. Nevertheless, information given by the families interviewed showed that twenty-one children under ten years of age, thirty-six between ten and twelve, and sixty between twelve and fourteen were doing home work. According to Table IX most of these children were stringing tags or carding bobby pins. Children were very important in the former, as over one-fourth of the number of persons stringing tags were under sixteen years of age.

Because of the small number of tags usually given to each family daily, the hours of both adults and children were not long. In one family six girls from nine to nineteen years each worked about 4½ hours stringing 2,000 tags during the week scheduled. The average hourly earnings for each of the girls was about one cent. Their mother also strung 2,000 tags, making the total home-work earnings of the family only 52 cents for the week. This family owned their own home and received \$15 a month rent for a part of the house; the father was dead, and the family income was supplemented by a relief agency. There was much evidence that the girls disliked the work.

¹⁶ The codes prohibited employment of children under sixteen years of age in any occupation and under eighteen years of age in any "hazardous" occupation.

They had to use strong hemp cord which "blistered" their hands. And as the work was usually done after school, they complained that it deprived them of their play time.

As Table IX shows fifty-eight children under sixteen years of age were carding bobby pins. The hours were longer than in the tag

TABLE IX
INDUSTRY AND AGE OF INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS IN
FAMILIES INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

INDUSTRY	INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS									
	Total	Age								Fifty Years and Over
		Under Four-teen Years	Four-teen Years, under Six-teen	Six-teen Years, under Eight-teen	Eight-teen Years, under Twenty	Twenty Years and under Fifty				
						Total	Twenty Years, under Thirty	Thirty Years, under Forty	Forty Years, under Fifty	
Art needlework:										
Hand embroidery (samples)	171	1	.....	5	6	121	36	44	41	38
Knitted or crocheted articles (samples).....	47	.....	.....	.....	.....	30	9	14	7	17
Embroidery or crocheting (for resale).....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	2	4	2	.....
Women's neckwear.....	181	2	2	2	6	134	28	52	54	35
Bobby pins—carding.....	372	30	28	74	41	153	40	43	61	46
Tags.....	318	57	30	34	33	117	45	19	53	47
Toys:										
Doll's dresses, favors.....	96	5	3	11	5	53	13	18	22	19
Cotton garments:										
Embroidery, applique or fag- oting.....	42	2	2	3	2	22	6	8	8	11
Garters and sanitary belts.....	49	12	4	3	2	15	1	4	10	13
Punchboard manufacturing:										
Placing numbers in holes.....	30	.....	1	1	4	19	2	6	11	5
Schiffli embroidery:										
Cutting lace and embroidery scallops, etc.....	32	2	5	5	.....	18	4	9	5	2
Artificial flowers.....	22	5	.....	1	3	12	2	9	1	1
Handkerchiefs:										
Hemming, applique, etc.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	4	2	4	.....
Other.....	29	1	1	.....	1	20	4	10	6	6
Total.....	1,407	117	76	139	103	732	205	242	285	240

industry, and the work was done at night as the pins were delivered in the late afternoon and were returned to the factory or contractor early the next morning. During the summer months a much larger quantity of work is given out, which means long hours of work on hot summer evenings. The girls disliked this work also. As one girl of fourteen expressed it, "Instead of vacation we get bobby pins."

Sixteen children under sixteen years of age helped in making garters, which was in violation of the special permits for this work issued by the State Department of Labor in accordance with the provisions of the N.R.A. code for this industry. These permits were for one person only in each family—the one to whom the permit was issued—and no permits were issued to persons under sixteen years of age. Work on garters was the only source of income for one family which consisted of the father, mother, and five children from five to thirteen years of age. The entire family assisted with the work. Although the interview was taken about one-thirty in the afternoon, a little girl of eleven and a child of five were at home helping with the work. The family were rather apologetic about the children's work and assured the interviewer that this happened "infrequently." The mother said that she usually worked twelve hours each day. The entire earnings of this family for the schedule week were \$15.40. In another family the father, mother, and four children from nine to fifteen years old usually worked on garters. During the week scheduled the mother had been ill so that the fifteen-year-old girl remained home from school and had worked sixty hours that week. As she and the other members of the family were less experienced than the mother the family earned only \$6.00 that week as compared with \$12 to \$14 for other weeks.

NUMBER OF YEARS AT HOME WORK

Over one-third of the persons interviewed had been engaged in industrial home work for less than one year. Changes in style bring new people into home work and destroy the usefulness of others. For example, the recent vogue for knitted wear has increased the amount of this kind of home work during the last year, and 85 per cent of the women making this knitted wear had worked less than one year. For the same reason, 69 per cent of the persons making women's neckwear had been engaged within the last year. On the other hand, 20 per cent of the families doing hand embroidery had done home work five years or more and about the same proportion of the persons carding bobby pins had worked this length of time. In the tag industry, which has always used home workers, over half of the chief home

workers had worked five years or more and a number from twenty to twenty-five years. Garter making, done at home only by special permit under the N.R.A., had long been one of the Chicago industries

TABLE X
NUMBER OF YEARS WORKED BY CHIEF HOME WORKER BY INDUSTRY

INDUSTRY	FAMILIES OF INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS							
	Total	Years Worked by Chief Home Worker						
		Total Re-ported	Less than 1	1, less than 3	3, less than 5	5, less than 10	10, less than 15	15 and Over
Art needlework:								
Hand embroidery (samples)	145	145	52	50	15	20	6	2
Knitted or crocheted articles (samples)	47	46	39	3	1	3		1
Embroidery or crocheting (for resale)	8	8	4	1	3			
Women's neckwear	127	127	87	33	7			
Bobby pins—carding	105	104	25	42	16	19	2	1
Tags	88	85	6	19	12	26	11	3
Toys:								
Doll's dresses, favors	47	47	20	10	7	8	2	
Cotton garments:								
Embroidery, applique or fagoting	24	24	7	7	3	4	3	
Garters and sanitary belts	19	18	1	3	3	6		1
Punchboard manufacturing:								
Placing numbers in holes	17	17	3	3		8	1	2
Schiffli embroidery:								
Cutting lace and embroidery scallops, etc.	17	17	5	2	1	4	2	3
Artificial flowers	10	10	3	1	3	3		
Handkerchiefs:								
Hemming, applique, etc.	9	9	3	2	1	3		
Other	19	18	6	5	3	1	2	1
Total	682	675	261	181	75	105	29	24

relying on home work. Five of the nineteen families in this industry had been engaged in this work fifteen years or longer; two had worked eighteen years, one twenty-one years, and a woman seventy-three years of age reported that she had done this type of work for almost forty years.

GENERAL ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE HOME-WORK FAMILIES

Information was secured in the course of this study as to the occupation and earnings of each member of the family who was working outside the home as well as of the home workers. The wages of the "chief breadwinner" are usually of special importance in the general economic status of the family, but in 35 of the 682 families

TABLE XI
NUMBER OF WEEKS OF EMPLOYMENT OF CHIEF BREADWINNER
IN HOME-WORK FAMILIES DURING YEAR

NUMBER OF WEEKS EMPLOYED	FAMILIES OF INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS								
	Total		Chief Breadwinner						No Chief Bread- win- ner
			Employed				Not Em- ployed	No Re- port on Em- ploy- ment	
	Num- ber	Per Cent Dis- tribu- tion	Total	Full Time	Part Time	Not Re- port- ed			
Employed.....	405	59	405	286	86	33	.....	.....	.....
1-13 weeks.....	31	5	31	26	5	.....	.....	.....	.....
14-26 weeks.....	37	5	37	25	12	.....	.....	.....	.....
27-39 weeks.....	25	4	25	20	5	.....	.....	.....	.....
40-51 weeks.....	31	5	31	25	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
52 weeks.....	248	36	248	190	58	.....	.....	.....	.....
Number of weeks not reported.....	33	5	33	.....	.....	33	.....	.....	.....
Not employed.....	240	35	.....	.....	.....	.....	240	.....	.....
No report on employment....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
No chief breadwinner.....	35	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	35
Total.....	682	100	405	286	86	33	240	2	35

* Less than 1 per cent.

interviewed there was no one who could be looked to as "the breadwinner." These included families in which the father was sixty years of age or older and was unemployed or was an invalid or otherwise handicapped, or in which there was no father in the family and the mother had small children and could not leave the home to accept outside employment or was of an age which made employment improbable. In a number of cases there was an adult son or daughter

in the family who was classified as the chief breadwinner in lieu of the mother or aged father.

As Table XI shows, the person classified as chief breadwinner had been unemployed during the entire fifty-two weeks preceding the date of the interview in 240, or 35 per cent of the families interviewed. Of 372 others for whom information was secured,¹⁷ 248 had been regularly employed and 124 had been employed for periods

TABLE XII
OCCUPATION OF CHIEF BREADWINNER IN FAMILIES
OF INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS

Occupation of Chief Breadwinner	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Chief breadwinner employed	388	.....
Occupation reported	363	100
Proprietors, officials, and managers.	22	6
Clerks and kindred workers.	63	17
Skilled workers.	64	18
Semi-skilled workers.	114	31
Laborers.	72	20
Servants.	13	4
Public officials.	2	1
Semi-public officials.	5	1
Professional persons.	8	2
Occupation not reported.	25	.....
Chief breadwinner not employed.	257	.....
No report on employment.	2	.....
No chief breadwinner.	35	.....
Total.	682	.....

ranging from one to fifty-one weeks. Of the 248 who reported fifty-two weeks of employment, only 190 had been employed on a full-time basis during this time. In other words, 29 per cent of the chief breadwinners in these families had been employed on a full-time basis. This fact made home work much more important to the families than in normal times, but it also made more serious the practice of giving out home work at substandard wages.

The occupation of the chief breadwinner and the earnings for the month preceding the interview are shown in Tables XII and

¹⁷ In 33 cases in which the chief breadwinner had been employed at some time during the year, the number of weeks worked was not secured usually because of irregularity of employment, and in 2 cases no information was secured on employment.

TABLE XIII
PERCENTAGE OF CHIEF BREADWINNERS EARNING SPECIFIED MONTHLY AMOUNTS, BY OCCUPATION

FAMILIES OF INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS														
OCCUPATION	Total	Total Reported		Percentage of Chief Breadwinners Earning Specified Monthly Amounts*									No Report on Chief Breadwinner	No Report on Employment
				Percentage of Chief Breadwinners Earning Specified Monthly Amounts*										
		Number	Per Cent*	Less than \$25	\$25 to \$49.99	\$50 to \$74.99	\$75 to \$99.99	\$100 to \$124.99	\$125 to \$149.99	\$150 and Over	None			
Chief breadwinner employed . . .	388	312	100	8	13	29	23	17	5	5	76			
Proprietors, officials, and managers . . .	22	13	100								9			
Clerks and kindred workers . . .	63	49	100	8	4	25	33	12	8	10	14			
Skilled workers . . .	64	51	100	2	14	22	29	25	8		13			
Semi-skilled workers . . .	114	99	100	9	15	30	17	20	3	5	15			
Laborers . . .	72	64	100	8	16	39	28	9			8			
Servants . . .	13	11	100								2			
Public officials . . .	2	2	100											
Semi-official public employees . . .	5	5	100											
Professional persons . . .	8	6	100											
No report as to job held . . .	25	12	100								2			
Chief breadwinner not employed . . .	257	257	100								13			
No report on employment . . .	2											2		
No chief breadwinner . . .	35												35	
Total . . .	682	569	100	4	7	16	13	9	3	3	45	76	2	35

* Percentage not shown where number is less than 25.

XIII. In that month 257 were not employed. Of the 388 who were employed a large number were in occupations for which payment is normally low. About one-third of the chief breadwinners for whom information was reported were classified as semi-skilled workers, seventy-two, or 20 per cent, as laborers, and 4 per cent as servants. Clerks or kindred workers, while having a somewhat different social status, usually receive rather low wages. This group constituted 17 per cent of the total. There were twenty-two proprietors, officials, and managers, but a number of them operated very small business concerns, and a few reported practically no profits for the month.

Monthly earnings of these workers who were employed outside the home were even lower than might be expected from the occupational classification. This was due in part to low wage rates and in some instances to the fact that employment was not for the full month. Earnings of less than \$100 per month were reported by 228, or 73 per cent of the 312 chief breadwinners for whom this information was available. Only 30 per cent of the "white-collar" workers, 33 per cent of the skilled workers, and 28 per cent of the semi-skilled workers received \$100 or more in the scheduled month.

Table XIV shows the number of weeks of employment of the most steadily employed member of the family during the preceding year. In a large number of families this was the chief breadwinner, but in a few some other adult member of the family had worked more steadily than the chief breadwinner. In 299 families the person most steadily employed had worked 52 weeks during the year, but of these, only 234 had had full-time work. That is, in slightly more than one-third of the families some individual was employed on a full-time basis during the year; in about one-third no member of the household was employed at any time, and in the remaining third some person was employed for a period of from 1 to 52 weeks, frequently on a part-time basis. In a very large percentage of cases no member of the family had been employed other than on home work during the year preceding the interview.

In Table XV the number of employed persons in the families of industrial home workers is compared with the number of employed persons in all Chicago families as reported by the United States census for April 1, 1930. Although employment was not normal in

1930, as the effects of the depression were beginning to be felt, only 4.3 per cent of the Chicago families had no persons employed; among the families included in this study in 1934-35, there was no person employed in 35 per cent of the families.

The percentage of families with one person employed was more nearly comparable with the 1930 figure, but the number having two

TABLE XIV
NUMBER OF WEEKS OF EMPLOYMENT OF MOST STEADILY EMPLOYED PERSON IN FAMILIES OF INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS DURING PREVIOUS YEAR

NUMBER OF WEEKS EMPLOYED	FAMILIES OF INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS							
	Total		Employment of Person in Family Most Steadily Employed				No Person Em- ployed	No Report on Em- ploy- ment
	Num- ber	Per Cent Distri- bution	Total	Full Time	Part Time	Not Re- ported		
Employed.....	466	68	466	336	96	34	.....	.....
1-13 weeks.....	33	5	33	28	5	.....	.....	.....
14-26 weeks.....	38	6	38	25	13	.....	.....	.....
27-39 weeks.....	23	3	23	19	4	.....	.....	.....
40-51 weeks.....	39	6	39	30	9	.....	.....	.....
52 weeks.....	299	44	299	234	65	.....	.....	.....
Number of weeks not re- ported.....	34	5	34	.....	.....	34	.....	.....
Not employed.....	214	31	.....	.....	.....	.....	214	.....
No report on employment.	2	*	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Total.....	682	100	466	336	96	34	214	2

* Less than 1 per cent.

or more workers was relatively much lower. The families in the home-work group were larger than the general population in Chicago¹⁸ so that a larger percentage with two or more persons employed was to be expected.

Of the 441 families in which some member or members of the

¹⁸ The median size of the families included in this study was 4.74 while the median size of Chicago families according to the 1930 census was 3.28. (United States Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 Population*, Vol. VI, *Families*, Table 66, p. 59.)

family had been employed during the scheduled month, the father was employed in 307, or 70 per cent of the total number. In 249 families he was the only person employed, and in 58 cases some other person, usually children over sixteen, also had worked during the month scheduled. In 136 families, children over sixteen years of age had been employed, while in 89 these young persons were the only members of the family who had had work.

Twenty-three mothers had employment outside the home, but a very small number were keeping boarders or roomers. Most of the

TABLE XV
NUMBER OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED PERSONS IN FAMILIES OF
INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS AS COMPARED WITH ALL
CHICAGO FAMILIES IN 1930

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED PERSONS	FAMILIES OF INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS		PER CENT DISTRIBUTION ALL CHICAGO FAMILIES— 1930*
	Number	Per Cent Distribution	
Total reported.....	680	100.0	100.0
No person employed.....	239	35.1	4.3
One person.....	350	51.5	58.9
Two persons.....	77	11.3	23.9
Three or more.....	14	2.1	13.0
Not reported.....	2	.....	.....
Total.....	682	.....	.....

* United States Bureau of the Census Department of Commerce, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 Population*, Vol. VI, *Families*, Table 72, p. 66.

women had never done factory work; they were, on the whole, women whose sole occupation, aside from this home work, had been caring for their homes and children. It seems rather surprising that more women did not supplement the family income by keeping boarders or roomers. But in addition to the fact that the families were large and the homes in many instances were crowded, one must remember that large numbers of single men and women had been forced by unemployment and the policy adopted by the Illinois Emergency Relief Administration into "shelters" because they could not pay board so that this means of supplementing the family income during the depression had been shut off.

It is probable that a complete report on earnings was not always secured, although the interviewers made special efforts to secure this information. The schedules showed that 169 families (25 per cent of the total) had no income from any source other than home work or relief. The income was \$100 or more a month in 123, or 18 per cent. For 102, or 15 per cent of the families, the total family income was less than \$50 for the month.

TABLE XVI
WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FAMILY FROM INDUSTRIAL HOME WORK BY
MONTHLY INCOME (OF FAMILY) EXCLUSIVE OF
HOME-WORK EARNINGS

MONTHLY INCOME EXCLUSIVE OF HOME WORK	FAMILIES OF INDUSTRIAL HOME WORKERS							
	Total	Weekly Earnings from Home Work						Not Report- ed
		Total Reported		Less than \$5		\$5 or More		
		Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	
Less than \$25.....	46	46	100	26	57	20	43	.....
\$25-\$49.99.....	56	56	100	41	73	15	27	.....
50- 74.99.....	96	96	100	58	60	38	40	.....
75- 99.99.....	77	76	100	54	71	22	29	I
100- 124.99.....	55	55	100	39	71	16	29	.....
125 and over.....	68	68	100	59	87	9	13	.....
No income.....	169	169	100	120	71	49	29	.....
Not reported.....	115	114	100	85	75	29	25	I
Total.....	682	680	100	482	71	198	29	2

Table XVI shows the relation between family earnings from home work and income from other sources. Of the 169 families with no earnings from other sources, 71 per cent earned less than \$5.00 a week from home work and 29 per cent \$5.00 or more. Exactly this same ratio was shown for the entire group, so it would seem that any attempt made by the families to bring total income up to an adequate level by doing home work was unsuccessful in most cases. A large number of the families were willing and anxious to do more home work, but the amount of work available was often limited.

Workers frequently complained that there was discrimination in giving out the work; that the forelady in the factory or the contractor had favorites to whom she gave larger amounts of work, or in some cases, a more desirable type of work. Among the sixty-eight families reporting income of \$125 a month or more, only 13 per cent earned more than \$5.00 a week from home work. This would seem to indicate that these families were not under the same economic pressure as those which had lower incomes or no income from other sources. Some of the workers in this group stated that they were doing the work because they liked it or for pin money, and there was not as great an incentive to long hours and increased earnings as was found in other families. On the whole, however, most of the families were driven to home work by destitution or near-destitution. This made it possible for those who gave out the home work to pay very low wages for long hours of work. The fact that by earning these pittance they were undermining the wage scale of the full-time workers was little understood.

FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIEF

Many of the families included in the study were not able to live on the income reported, even with the addition of earnings from home work. A few families were living on savings, in a small number of cases home-work earnings were the only source of income, and it seems probable that a few families were contracting debts. There were, however, 165 families (24 per cent of those reporting this item) that were receiving relief at the time the schedules were taken, and an additional forty-eight families that had received relief at some time during the previous year.

Those who interviewed the families believed that this was an understatement of the number of the families which were on relief rolls. There was an evident reluctance to admit that relief was received, a number of families refusing to talk about their work until they were assured that the interviewer did not represent the relief agency. As it was the policy to deduct any family earnings for the month from the relief grant, a number of families admitted that they did the work secretly and used the money earned for expenses not included in the relief budget. In other cases, the work was done with the

knowledge of the case worker with the understanding that earnings were used for rent, gas, or electric bills. As home-work earnings were irregular, this worked a hardship in some families. One woman who was stringing tags stated that she was supposed to pay \$15 a month from her earnings for rent. She had earned only 75 cents during the previous week and said she expected to be evicted "again." One mother reported that the family had been taken off relief because they were doing home work. In many cases in which families were receiving relief, the chief home worker was putting in forty or more hours a week but was unable to earn an amount sufficient to meet the family budget. Relief in these cases is, of course, equivalent to a subsidy to the industries that pay such extremely low hourly wages. The fact that 24 per cent of the home-work families were on the relief rolls from November to December, while from 13.7 to 15.5 per cent of the families of Cook County were on relief during these months¹⁹ is a further indication that families of industrial home workers were from an economic standpoint substandard families.

WHAT IS THE REMEDY?

State labor officials and others who have studied the problem find that attempts to regulate home work through a licensing system have been unsuccessful. Every investigation has shown long hours, low wages, and child labor. While it is generally agreed that complete prohibition is desirable, there are constitutional difficulties. The International Association of Governmental Labor Officials, which includes officials of the United States and Canada, at their 1934 meeting commended the N.R.A. for the progress made by writing prohibitions of home work into some of the codes and urged extension of such prohibitions to the codes of other industries. But extending the prohibitions to other codes and better enforcement of

¹⁹ The number of families receiving relief from public and private agencies in Cook County was 135,860 in November, 1934; 141,439 in December, 1934; and 153,137 in January, 1935 (see *Statistics*, monthly bulletin published by the Statistical Bureau, Council of Social Agencies of Chicago, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 5, and Vol. II, No. 2, p. 3). The number of families in Cook County on April 1, 1930, was 988,923 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, *Fifteenth Census of the United States; 1930, Population*, Vol. VI, *Families*, Table 19, p. 367). The number of families in Cook County may have changed somewhat since that date but not enough to materially affect the percentages.

the codes provisions is, since the decision of the Supreme Court of last May, no longer the answer to the question of how the unfair practices connected with home work can be controlled or eliminated. Because the National Industrial Recovery Act was temporary and not permanent legislation, the labor officials in 1934 urged "speedy enactment by the several States of industrial home-work laws designed to establish uniform standards and to regulate the practice, with the idea of eventually eliminating it entirely,"²⁰ but as home work is sent from state to state without possibility of control by state laws, the Association believed federal action to control this phase of the home-work practice was necessary.

At a conference on labor legislation convened by Secretary Perkins in February, 1934, the Committee on Industrial Home Work made the following recommendations.

The Committee on Industrial Home Work has concluded that the abolition of home work is the only way to control its growing evils. Probably at the present time this can best be accomplished by regulations which will assure to the home worker the same standards of wage and working conditions as are established for the worker in the factory. We recommend that wherever possible State home-work legislation be enacted to embody the following standards:

1. Any place in which home work is done must be licensed and inspected to insure suitability as a work place and freedom from communicable disease.
2. Every home worker should be certified.
3. Employers giving out home work must be licensed at least annually and must keep complete registers of all home workers.
4. Employers should be held responsible for violations of the home work law and other labor laws such as compensation, child labor, hours, and minimum wage laws.
5. Employers of home workers should defray all the costs of adequate home-work regulations, either through license fees, or a tax on articles manufactured at home, or both.²¹

The present study shows that home work flourishes in Chicago and has all the characteristic evils. When driven to home work by

²⁰ *Discussion of Labor Laws and Their Administration*, 1934. Convention of the International Association of Governmental Labor Officials, Boston, Massachusetts. Bulletin No. 1 (published by the U.S. Department of Labor, Division of Labor Statistics, 1935), p. 134.

²¹ Conference on Labor Legislation, Washington, D.C., February 14-15, 1934. "Report of Committee on Industrial Home Work," *Resolutions and Reports of Committees* (mimeographed reports), p. 12.

extreme poverty, home workers are an easily exploited group. Their necessities have offered an opportunity or a temptation to certain Chicago employers. A law embodying the foregoing recommendations administered by the State Department of Labor would give a basis for regulation of manufacture in the homes. Although the experience of other states shows that the evils cannot be eliminated by this method, it would improve conditions in Chicago where there has, in effect, been no regulation.

As a protection to consumers, experience shows it is important for the state law to prohibit entirely the manufacture of foodstuffs, clothing, dolls and doll accessories, and other toys in the home and as a protection to the workers, the manufacture of any article requiring the handling of poisonous or other injurious substances. The New York law authorizes the industrial commission to determine within what industries home work may be permitted without jeopardizing wages and working conditions of the factory workers, or injuring the health and welfare of the home worker. Similar authority, if given the Illinois commissioner of labor, would make possible the extension of the prohibited list on a factual basis. It is desirable also that all labor laws of the state be made applicable to home work. While in the past it has been found practically impossible to enforce state laws with reference to home work, with the licensing and registration outlined above and the costs of inspection borne by the employers of home workers, it is believed that real progress can be made in the control of this ancient evil.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE WISCONSIN RELIEF SITUATION: A REPORT OF THE WISCONSIN EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

THIS report which was made public in Wisconsin on October 9, 1935, summarized the relief situation and some of the financial problems facing the state and local relief administrations at that time.

The drastic reductions in federal grants for relief purposes and the proposed complete withdrawal of federal aid for meeting the direct relief needs of the state made it imperative that serious thought be given to certain aspects of the problem with which this state will have to deal.

At that time approximately 360,000 persons in Wisconsin were dependent in whole or in part upon relief granted through the relief agencies affiliated with the Wisconsin Emergency Relief Administration. The Federal Works Program had done little to reduce this number, and complete provision for dependent children and for aged persons was indefinitely delayed by the failure of Congress and the state legislature to make adequate provision for meeting these costs.

It then seemed probable that during the winter of 1935 and 1936 at least 125,000 persons would still require assistance in some form, and that the majority of these people would have to look to the local relief departments for aid. Many communities in the state are financially unable to provide for this relief burden.

This survey of the Wisconsin relief situation was prepared with data available during September, 1935. On January 15, 1936, relief figures showed that most of the estimates which were made with the material on hand in September were substantially accurate, and that the general conclusions which were reached need no revision. The WPA has removed a somewhat smaller number from the relief rolls than was expected, the residual case load is proving somewhat larger than was anticipated, the legislature has made no provision for aid to the localities during 1936, and the first indications of financial difficulties as the localities approach the task of supporting a relief program without state or federal aid are now in evidence.

The revised study of the relative financial condition of Wisconsin counties referred to on page 69 has been completed, and current data on this subject are now available. Although the completed survey reveals certain shifts in the relative financial condition of individual counties, no substantial changes were revealed in the basic inability of the local units to carry the residual relief load without state or federal aid.

ALFRED W. BRIGGS
Administrator

CURRENT CASE LOAD

On September 15, 1935, a total of 85,613 cases were receiving relief through the local relief departments in the state of Wisconsin, and 2,447 cases through the state transient shelters and camps (these cases include approximately 360,000 persons). The case load for September 15 is the lowest of the current year (1935) and does not represent fully the volume of the relief burden.

During the first six months of 1935 a total of 147,344¹ different cases received relief, and the average case load for the first six months was 112,718 cases per month. That the case load is far from static is shown by the figures for cases opened and closed during the six-month period given in Table I.

TABLE I
NUMBER OF CASES OPENED AND CLOSED, JANUARY 1—JUNE 30, 1935

MONTH	CASES OPENED				CASES CLOSED (TOTAL)
	Total	New	Old	Recurrent	
January.....	12,175	5,278	6,897	.....	7,270
February.....	8,862	4,715	3,510	628	7,744
March.....	7,524	3,680	2,618	1,226	8,877
April.....	7,381	2,889	2,995	1,497	9,448
May.....	6,114	2,589	1,869	1,656	10,670
June.....	6,240	2,519	1,455	2,266	12,493
Total.....	48,296	21,670	19,353	7,273	56,502

The turnover in cases in the Transient Division is, of course, much more rapid. Unduplicated figures are difficult to obtain over a period of months; but, during the month of August, 7,355 persons received assistance through the camps and shelters, although only 2,874 were under care on the last day of the month.

ESTIMATED RELIEF LOAD NOVEMBER 1, 1935—MAY, 1936

The extent of the problem that will have to be met through state and local relief funds, if federal aid is withdrawn after November 1, will be dependent upon four major factors:

¹ Of these, 106,321 were cases receiving relief on January 1, 1935, and 41,023 were new and old cases (unduplicated) accepted during the first six months of 1935.

1. Increased opportunities for private employment in industry and agriculture.
2. Employment on the federal works program.
3. Rehabilitation of destitute farmers through the Rural Resettlement Administration.
4. Provision of special forms of relief through social security measures.

1. *Private employment.*—The trend of employment, as indicated by reports of the Industrial Commission, showed a steady increase from January to August, 1935, but there was no apparent correlation between this increase and the relief load. Although it is estimated that there are at least 200,000 unemployed persons in Wisconsin on August 15, the relief rolls included only 95,271 employable persons, representing 66,072 cases. It is apparent, therefore, that unemployment might be reduced 50 per cent or more without materially affecting the relief load.

In addition, more than 13 per cent of the cases receiving relief include one or more members of the family who now have full- or part-time employment in industry or agriculture but whose earnings are insufficient to meet minimum or emergency needs for their families.

The WERA has had a policy of close co-operation with the state public employment service since the beginning of a state relief program in 1932, and consistent efforts have been made throughout the last four years to have every employable person registered as a condition of receiving relief. Relief departments themselves do not engage in employment service functions.

Like other relief administrations operating under FERA policies, in the past this administration has not denied relief to persons who refused jobs at less than subsistence wages in order to avoid the possibility of exploitation of relief clients by employers, and a lowering of wage standards. This policy has had to be modified somewhat owing to increasingly limited funds, and local relief departments now encourage relief clients to accept any reasonable employment, giving supplementary relief if necessary.

2. *Federal Works Program.*—The works program is now beginning to make reductions in the relief load, and it is reported that 3,000 persons have been assigned to jobs. Approximately a month elapses between assignment and the first pay check; those assigned during October will receive relief until some time in November.

It has been indicated that 70,000 workers will be employed on this program in Wisconsin when the program is fully developed. Not all of those so employed will be taken from the WERA relief rolls, for a certain small portion, probably 10 per cent, will be non-relief people, and others will be from districts not participating in the federal-state relief program.

It is interesting to note that the residual relief case load of about 42,000 cases per month is approximately the number of cases requiring relief in 1932, when it first became apparent that neither the local nor state governments could finance the relief burden without federal aid.

TABLE II
ESTIMATED WPA EMPLOYMENT AND REMAINING RELIEF
LOAD, OCTOBER, 1935—APRIL, 1936

Month	Employment, WPA	Remaining Case Load	1934-35 Case Loads
October,* 1935.....	30,000	93,000	100,339
November*.....	50,000	80,000	105,847
December*.....	70,000	60,000	111,484
January, 1936.....	70,000	45,000	110,676
February.....	70,000	45,000	117,224
March.....	70,000	45,000	117,218
April.....	70,000	41,000	114,952

* Months during which there will be an overlapping of cases between WPA and WERA. During the period prior to receipt of the first pay check, many of the cases will appear on both rolls. This is considered in the table.

The increase in applications for relief, which is already being felt, indicates that the relief rolls may be increased by eligible people not now on the rolls but who will be attracted by the possibility of thus obtaining WPA employment. This was the case under the CWA program. At its peak, the CWA employed 170,000 persons, yet 55,000 cases were still receiving relief.

Table II includes no estimate of the number of cases in which supplementation from some source will be necessary to meet the difference between the security wage and the minimum budgetary needs of large families.

3. *Rural Resettlement Administration.*—On July 1, 1935, the activities of the WERA Rural Division were transferred to the newly organized Federal Rural Resettlement Administration, in accordance

with instructions from the FERA. It was the intention of the FERA to transfer to that agency all responsibility for relief to persons living in rural areas. The FERA ruled that families having outstanding obligations to the Rural Rehabilitation Corporation would be ineligible for further aid from FERA funds. Approximately 3,000 cases were affected by this decision.

At the time these instructions were issued the newly formed Resettlement Administration was not organized to provide family service, had no funds available for relief purposes, and had been instructed from Washington to accept only cases eligible for rural rehabilitation under a farm management plan. The arbitrary withdrawal of relief by one federal agency before another was organized to take up this responsibility naturally brought forth a storm of protest from all parts of Wisconsin to the WERA and to other state officials.

Inasmuch as the WERA and the local relief units are responsible for carrying out the statutory provisions for relief to all needy persons, it was obviously impossible for them to refuse assistance to any person for whom other resources were not immediately available.

Pending a clarification of the policies of the FERA and the Resettlement Administration, and the organization and financing of the Resettlement Administration, relief was continued to rural families not actually operating farms, but having a cow or chickens, to whom drought relief had been given as an incidental part of more extensive relief needs, and from whom repayment could not be expected; and to families for whom a farm management plan could not be made, as their normal income was received not from farming but from employment in the lumber industry, mines, or other non-agricultural occupations.

Local relief departments were instructed to review carefully all cases of farm owners and farm operators and to make every effort to place them on their own resources. All such cases are being referred to the Resettlement Administration for priority consideration. Case loads in agricultural areas have fallen rapidly during the past few months, and it is understood that there are now few bona fide farmers receiving assistance from agencies affiliated with this administration.

Farm laborers have been in demand at wages ranging from \$5.00 to \$30 per month, with and without board, and every effort has been made to encourage relief clients to secure such work. This type of employment reduces relief needs during the summer months but will not carry over into the winter, and in few cases does it provide a living which will permanently remove families from the need of assistance. At the end of the harvest season, unless private employment is available, these workers will require assistance either through direct relief or public employment.

The "stranded population" of the mining and lumbering areas will receive little assistance through the Resettlement Administration under the present policies, and these areas are the ones least able to carry any part of their relief burden from local funds. However, some employment is now being offered by the Forestry Service and by the lumber companies, and these activities have reduced relief loads appreciably during the summer months.

4. *Special aids.*—All relief cases have been roughly classified according to eligibility for mothers' aid and old age pensions. According to the chart published by the FERA dated March 15, 1935, Wisconsin has a slightly lower percentage of such cases on its unemployment relief rolls than the average for all states. The WERA has always followed the policy of encouraging local governments to maintain these forms of relief through local funds, and has accepted cases eligible for these special aids only when it was clearly demonstrated that local funds could not be made available. Nevertheless, a number of counties have been unable to maintain mothers' pensions.

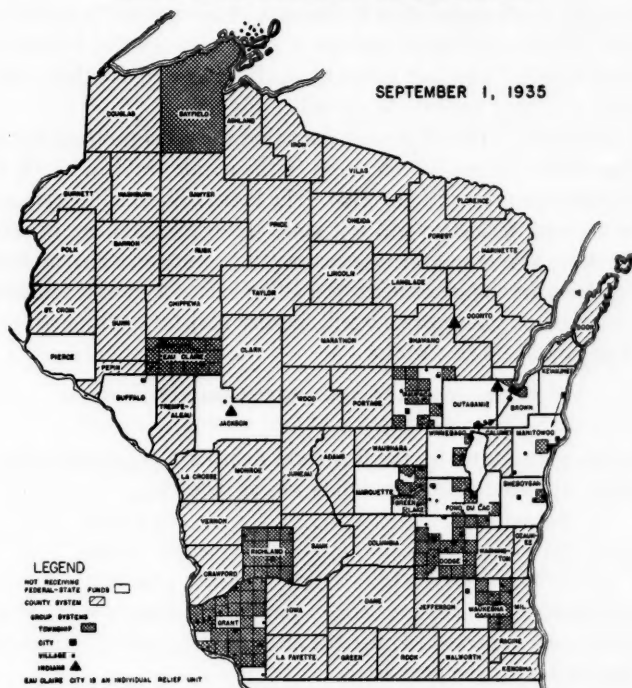
While the state appropriation for these forms of relief will be of great assistance, the fact that federal grants-in-aid are not yet available will delay the transfer of all eligible cases. In any event, certain counties will find it very difficult, and others impossible, to raise funds for even a small share of the costs of these special aids.

After all possible employment in private industry and in a governmental work program has been accomplished, and a system of special aids has been inaugurated, there will still remain on the relief rolls a residual group, which will include those who do not qualify for special aids and those who are handicapped mentally or physically. It will represent what might be called the "normal" outdoor poor relief

load. In 1929 this group was approximately 12,000 families in the state.

A variety of causes has combined since then greatly to increase this number—first, because of the immigration into the state from

CHART I
AREAS IN WISCONSIN QUALIFIED TO RECEIVE FEDERAL-
STATE UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF FUNDS*



Wisconsin Emergency Relief Administration

* Areas qualified represent 92.1 per cent of state population.

1920 to 1930 of large numbers of laborers who settled in certain northern counties and were left stranded by the collapse of the lumber industry.

Second, because malnutrition, disease, and substandard living conditions have been brought to light, and the public has developed a greater awareness of need. This will make it impossible for public

officials to ignore these conditions as they did in certain areas prior to 1932.

Third, those unemployed persons who in good times are supported by relatives are now, and will continue to be, dependent upon the public since the son or brother working for a security wage will be unable to provide for more than his immediate family.

Fourth, because of the fact that industry's standards of the physically fit are much higher than in the past. For example, in one lot of workers recently examined, 400 out of 2,500 were rejected because of enlarged tonsils. The four factors just cited, as well as others, have resulted in a large increase in the relief problem.

It is apparent from all present data that the relief problem for the coming winter cannot be compared to the minor problem which existed before the present depression. The Federal Works Program and social security measures will not meet the whole problem of relief within the next few months. A conservative estimate, which includes no provision for supplementing the federal security wage, indicates that at least 125,000 persons will require assistance through local relief departments this winter.

ABILITY OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO FINANCE RELIEF COSTS

Relief expenditures for the first eight months of 1935 totaled \$30,-868,282. The source of these funds was as follows:

Federal	\$25,691,066
State	850,000
Local	4,327,216

The emergency taxes imposed to pay for the state's share of the relief costs are expected to raise the amount of \$5,000,000 stipulated by the FERA for the year 1935.

The law imposing these taxes appropriates the following amounts for purposes other than for unemployment relief:

Tax Commission—administrative duties	\$ 7,500*
Tax Commission—collection delinquent taxes	50,000
State treasurer—administrative duties	1,500*
State Board of Control—mothers' aid	200,000
Industrial Commission—university extension division tuition ..	30,000

Total—for purposes other than unemployment relief . . . \$289,000

* Estimated.

No provision for financing relief during 1936 has been made by the state government. The state appropriation for increased aids for dependent children and for old age pensions will approach adequacy only when Congress makes funds available for federal grants-in-aid.

Up to August 1, Wisconsin localities receiving aid from the WERA toward relief costs have contributed approximately \$3,760,000. The total local contribution for the year is expected to be the \$6,000,000 stipulated by the FERA. The area not included in the WERA program, which comprises about 16 per cent of the total assessed valuation of the state, is subject to certain additional taxation for relief purposes. It is estimated that the following amounts must be raised by the counties for relief and welfare activities during 1935:

Welfare activities exclusive of unemployment relief	\$ 6,000,000
Non-reportable expenditures for relief	2,500,000
Materials and supervision for WERA work projects	2,800,000
Amounts not reimbursable to counties because in excess of allotment	120,000
Total	\$11,420,000
Unemployment relief costs	6,000,000
Total relief and welfare expenditures made by counties in 1935	\$17,420,000

This total equals about 20 per cent of the total property tax levy in the state for 1935, and about 58 per cent of the total county tax levy.

The problem is further complicated by the need of local contributions toward labor and materials on the new works program. The estimated 1935 local expenditure of \$17,420,000 is exclusive of any contribution toward the WPA program. The extent and quality of the projects on the new program depend on the amount of local contributions for supervision and materials. Municipalities will be urged to participate financially in the new works program to the fullest extent of their ability. When the relief expenditures of the non-participating areas, and contributions toward the WPA program are added to the \$17,420,000, the estimated total expenditures of the localities toward relief and welfare activities approach \$20,000,000 in 1935.

In summary, the status of local and state contributions is as follows:

Local contribution to August 1, 1935	\$3,760,000
Expected local contribution from August 1 to December 30, 1935	2,240,000
Total, 1935	\$6,000,000
Local contribution in 1936	At a lower rate than in 1935. Amount depends on aid available through security program, and on the demands made by the Works Progress Administration.
State contribution to August 1, 1935	\$ 850,000
State contribution from August 1, to December 30, 1935	3,861,000
Total, 1935	\$4,711,000*
State contribution in 1936	No provision made

* This figure is arrived at by subtracting the \$289,000 itemized on page 66 from the \$5,000,000 anticipated under chap. 15 of the *Laws of 1935*.

Only the wide taxation base employed by the federal government would have made possible the maintenance of the 1935 relief program. Local money for this purpose must come from property taxes, and it is unfortunately true that the local communities least able to raise adequate funds by this method have the most serious relief problem.

It is evident that the 1935 relief load is exceedingly burdensome to the localities. Although requests for local appropriations are based on a very comprehensive study of the financial ability of each county, certain counties find it necessary to press for reductions or cancellations of their share of relief costs. In one county it was necessary to reduce the local contribution, beginning August 1, from \$2,800 a month to \$100 a month because county funds were exhausted, and the county already borrowed \$6,000 in excess of its legal borrowing limit.

While tax delinquency is expected to be somewhat less in 1935 than it was in 1934, it still remains evident that the localities will find it exceedingly difficult, and for some impossible, to participate in 1936 at the rate they are now contributing toward relief costs.

Last fall this administration made a detailed study of the financial ability of all Wisconsin counties. This study has been the basis for setting the rate of local contributions toward relief costs thus far in

1935, and also in estimating the ability of the various counties to support a relief program without federal-state aid. A new survey of the financial ability of Wisconsin counties is now in process. This sur-

CHART II

PERCENTAGE OF AVERAGE MONTHLY UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF COSTS THAT CAN BE CARRIED BY EACH COUNTY WITHOUT FEDERAL-STATE AID AFTER AUGUST 31, 1935*



* Counties without figures are not participating in the federal-state relief program.

vey follows the same general plan as that employed last year, and will provide an up-to-date index of the present status of county finances.

The twelve poorest counties of the state are financially unable to

carry any part of their relief costs. The 43 poorest counties, in which there is now about 77 per cent of the total state relief load, can finance from only 1 per cent (or less) to 20 per cent of their relief costs.

This is particularly significant because estimates of the number of unemployables on the relief rolls place the number at 21 per cent. Moreover, according to present estimates of 70,000 persons to be employed by the WPA, and an average monthly case load of approximately 112,000 cases, there will remain 38 per cent of the cases on direct relief. Less than half the counties could carry the burden if

TABLE III
FINANCIAL SUMMARY OF FOREST AND MILWAUKEE COUNTIES
AS COMPARED TO STATE AVERAGES

FINANCIAL FACTORS	Forest County	Milwaukee County	State Average
Financial Resources:			
Per capita assessed valuation, 1933.....	\$566.00	\$1,841.00	\$1,450.00
Per capita net taxable income, 1933.....	32.02	384.07	189.47
Estimated gross income per farm, 1931.....	721.00	1,387.00	1,423.00
Percentage of school districts in good condition, September, 1934.....	78.9	100.0	93.3
Estimated per capita spendable money income, 1932.....	131.00	368.10	275.40
Debt and Taxation:			
Percentage of county debt to assessed valuation, January 1, 1934.....	3.01	2.72	1.95
County tax levy in mills, due in 1935.....	13.389	7.994	7.198
Percentage of real estate tax delinquency, 1933.....	46.0	45.5	30.45

20 per cent of the relief load were left to them, and less than 10 per cent could raise sufficient funds to carry 38 per cent of the load.

The differences in the wealth and indebtedness of the counties and their consequent ability to carry their relief loads are illustrated by a comparison of Forest County with Milwaukee County and with the average for the state (Table III).

If Milwaukee County had to care for 20 per cent of its estimated 1935 relief, its cost would be \$3,932,760 for the year. In order to raise this amount of money, it would mean that a tax of \$16.04 would have to be levied on every \$5,000 home in the county. If 38 per cent of the load, amounting to \$7,472,244, had to be borne, the tax on

every \$5,000 home would then be \$30.48. This is more than twice the amount of Milwaukee County's present contribution.

Other counties would be even worse off than Milwaukee County. Forest County has found it necessary to tax itself to the legal limit of 10 mills to carry on the constitutional functions of a county. This is without raising any money for relief. The monthly average relief costs in Forest County thus far in 1935 have been \$36,800. As many as 43.8 per cent of its population have been on the relief rolls during one month in 1935. If Forest County had to bear its total estimated relief costs during 1935, it would require a levy equal to seven times the tax which is allowed to Wisconsin counties by state law. Even to carry 20 per cent of its load would require a levy of 14 mills, which is 4 mills more than the legal limit. And this is without considering tax delinquency, which has been as high as 46 per cent in that county.

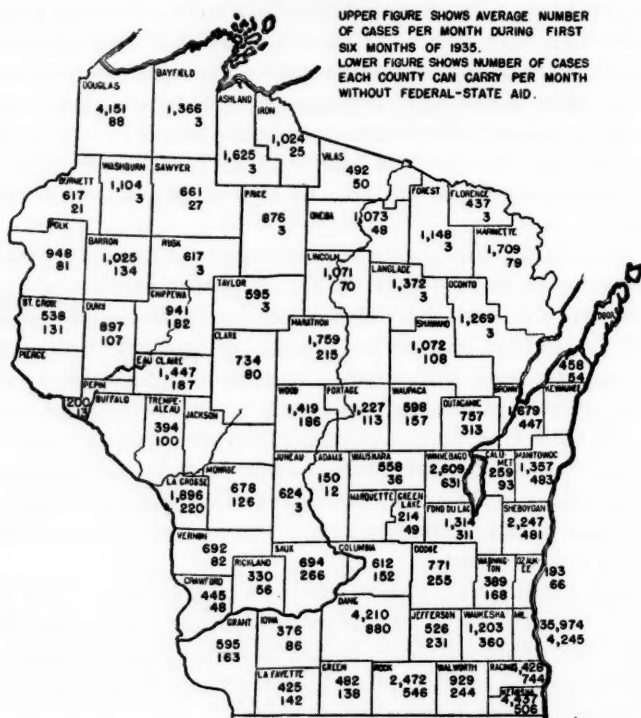
Forest County is not unique in these respects. Ten or eleven other counties are in similar straits. In the ten poorest counties, most of which have a comparatively high percentage of their population on relief, the average monthly relief costs for 1935 have aggregated \$306,444. However, these counties together have been able to contribute an average monthly sum of only \$1,000 toward these costs. In fact, there is an inverse correlation between the percentage of population on relief and the ability to raise funds for relief purposes. The population of these counties totals 161,029 persons; and of these, an average of 28.1 per cent, or 45,249 persons, received relief in the first six months of 1935.

These counties are unable to support a relief program. If 62 per cent of their relief load were removed from the rolls through the WPA, there would still remain in these counties 17,195 men, women, and children with only the resources of the practically bankrupt local governments between them and privation.

One northern county, whose contribution has been determined by the ability-to-pay study as \$100 per month, has been unable to meet its bills for even this small amount. At least two northern counties are still unsuccessfully attempting to find the money with which to pay some of their merchants for food provided for relief clients during 1934. One county has been unable to pay hospital bills for

four years. None of these counties has been able to continue mothers' pensions or other special aids not included in the emergency relief program, and they are no more able to finance a relief program than they are able to finance these special-aid programs.

CHART III
AVERAGE NUMBER OF RELIEF CASES PER MONTH
IN EACH COUNTY*



* Counties without figures are not participating in the federal-state relief program.

The estimated number of cases which the counties can carry without aid from the federal and state governments, and the average number of cases per month from January 1, to July 1, 1935, are shown on Chart III.

In Tables IV and V the counties have been classified in groups on the basis of their ability to pay out of county resources the cost of relief after September 1, 1935.

The case load of these groups and the number of cases that can be supported out of local funds are given in Table V. According to this table only 13.6 per cent of the cases can be supported out of local funds.

Moreover, there seems to be no immediate solution of the financial difficulties in these counties. To raise the legal limit of taxation in or-

TABLE IV
PERCENTAGE OF THE RELIEF LOAD WHICH CAN BE CARRIED
BY WISCONSIN COUNTIES AFTER SEPTEMBER 1, 1935

(1) Ability Group	(2) No. of Counties (or Groups) in Ability Group	(3) Percentage of Average Monthly Relief Load Carried in Ability Group*	(4) Percentage of Relief Load County Can Carry after August 31, 1935
1.....	12	8.4	1 or less
2.....	14	11.7	1-10
3.....	17	56.9	11-20
4.....	16	18.4	21-30
5.....	6	3.2	31-40
6.....	3	1.4	41-50
Total.....	68	100.0	.....

* Based on an estimated load for the year and on the expected local contribution as determined by the Harris ability study.

der to allow for greater tax levies would only induce greater tax delinquency. To eliminate township government, or to combine county governments, is an impractical possibility as far as the immediate future is concerned. The only other means to cut costs in order to divert what funds are available to relief purposes would be to curtail already inadequate expenditures for schools. To insist on local support of relief at the expense of the education of children would be obviously undesirable.

The extent and duration of the relief problem in Wisconsin, especially in the areas just described, have an intimate connection with the fact that there is a large percentage of submarginal farm land in

the state. According to the Wisconsin Land Planning Board, probably more than one-third of the land area of Wisconsin falls in this classification.

The great increase in world-demand for farm products, as a result of the World War, led to a rush to turn into farms the cut-over land of the north. When the lumber and mining industries no longer furnished opportunities for employment by which the inhabitants of this area could supplement their meager return from the land, they left a stranded population.

TABLE V
NUMBER OF CASES WHICH WISCONSIN
COUNTIES CAN CARRY AFTER SEP-
TEMBER 1, 1935

(1) Ability Group	(2) Average Monthly Case Load Carried in Ability Group	(3) No. of Cases Ability Group Can Carry per Month after August 31*
1.....	11,086	36
2.....	14,953	771
3.....	57,500	7,172
4.....	20,472	4,876
5.....	3,609	1,305
6.....	1,672	712
Total.....	109,442	14,872

* Based on average cost per case and average monthly case load through August.

The recently established Resettlement Administration undoubtedly will attempt to solve the problems confronting the stranded people in northern Wisconsin counties. The task is a huge and complicated one, however, and many months will necessarily pass before appreciable numbers of these stranded families can be rehabilitated in a new location. Moreover, the Resettlement Administration is primarily a loaning agency, lending money and assistance to those farmers who appear to be able to benefit from and repay loans made to them. Thus, its function is a restricted one and cannot, even at best, be a complete answer to the relief problem in the northern tier of Wisconsin counties.

ALLOCATION OF FUNDS WITHIN THE STATE

Under the State Emergency Relief Act of 1933 (chap. 363) the state is required to reimburse local units at least 50 per cent of their relief expenditures, from funds appropriated by the state or granted to it by the federal government. In addition, the definition of relief in this act is somewhat broader than the federal definition, and will require reimbursement for certain items, such as hospital care, which have not heretofore been included.

This provision was included in the act, not only to assist all communities to meet the unusual burden caused by unemployment, but to provide a means of maintaining satisfactory standards of relief administration throughout the state. It was also a recognition of the principle of placing the relief burden on a wider tax base than that of local property taxes.

Federal funds have been allocated on the basis of the financial ability of the counties to share in relief costs, but during 1934 and the first ten months of 1935, every county has received more than 50 per cent reimbursement.

As long as funds are available the state will be obligated to meet at least 50 per cent of the relief costs of every county. Moreover, at least half the counties would be unable to carry the burden without additional assistance.

STATE AND LOCAL RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

Prior to July, 1935, the program of the Wisconsin Emergency Relief Administration included a wide variety of activities in addition to direct relief. The Wisconsin Emergency Relief Administration work program, which employed, at its peak, 50,000 persons, was terminated on August 29, with the exception of projects for producing and preparing food and other materials needed for direct relief clients, emergency work in the flood area, and watchmen, etc., were necessary on certain uncompleted projects. The drought relief program was terminated on June 15, and the rural rehabilitation program was transferred to the Resettlement Administration on July 1. The functions remaining with the Wisconsin Emergency Relief Administration and its affiliated local agencies are now concentrated in the provision of direct relief to needy resident persons and transients.

These changes in function have been accompanied by corresponding reductions in personnel. The state staff has been reduced since May 1 from 587 to 326 persons; the local staffs have been reduced from 3,629 to 2,687 persons.

It is obvious that both state and local relief administrations must be condensed to keep pace with the diminishing case load, as was done during the period when the CWA was in operation. In order that local relief offices may retain the services of those best qualified, an examination was given on September 29 to over 800 local staff members in an endeavor to determine those best fitted to remain in relief service.

During the present period of transition it appears necessary to maintain a strong state organization. While this will require less personnel than in the past, the work of the state office is affected less than local staffs by reduction in case load, since it consists largely in supervising and accounting functions. Through the state staff all relief cases in the state were reviewed during the past few months, with the result that other resources than relief were found for approximately 4,000 cases.

There is also the necessity of maintaining throughout the state uniform standards of investigation and certification to the Works Progress Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Public Works Administration, the National Youth Administration, and other agencies participating in the federal employment program.

It seems unwise to break down the present control until the federal works program has reached its full development and has demonstrated the fact that the problem of unemployment can be completely and permanently solved through public works.

To date, staff reductions have so far exceeded the reduction in volume of work that both state and local staffs are experiencing great difficulty in carrying out all the new duties attendant upon the change in program. Until the WPA program begins to reduce the relief rolls, further reductions cannot be made.

LOCAL RELIEF DEPARTMENTS

Local relief departments are organized under chapter 49 of the state statutes, which places general relief responsibility upon the

towns, cities or villages, or upon the counties. There are no separate emergency relief organizations, and no distinction has been made between "unemployment" and general relief cases. Since 1932, the attempt has been made to establish procedures and standards suitable for any type of public assistance and to encourage the handling of all welfare problems through a generalized agency.

In many counties, the relief departments have established themselves as a central agency for all types of service which are needed, in addition to general relief. Some are making investigations and supervising mothers' pensions; a number have recently been asked to undertake the same service for old age pensions. While these activities have been carried as administrative functions and are not a part of the federal government's responsibility for unemployment relief, they represent a service desired by the communities, and a step toward the development of a sound public welfare program in the state.

Considerable study has been given to the possibility of combining county relief units in order to reduce administrative costs. Some of the difficulties in such a plan are: (1) opposition of local governments, which are contributing a part of the relief costs. A plan for such combination would have to be approved by each county board, except in units now being reimbursed entirely from federal-state relief funds. (2) The distances to be covered, especially in counties having a low case load, would result in increased travel expenses which would tend to offset salary savings. (3) Projects for the WPA are to some extent on a county basis, and employment offices to which certifications must be made are located in practically every county.

As a variation of the plan to combine local units, it is proposed to retain a minimum staff in each local office, sufficient to carry on necessary intake and relief visiting, certification, and accounting functions, and to work out a plan for sharing certain personnel between two or more counties. This will not only reduce costs, but will make it possible to retain the services of well-qualified personnel by making their services available over a wider area. The persons shared may be directors, case-work supervisors, nutritionists, or accountants. In most cases this will mean placing these persons on the state pay-roll, but since their salaries are now reimbursed 100 per

cent by the state administration, there will be no additional charge to federal-state funds, and there will be a net saving inasmuch as the total state force will be reduced.

TABLE VI
CASES AND COSTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF IN WISCONSIN
PUBLIC RELIEF AGENCIES, NOVEMBER, 1933—JUNE, 1935

DATE	CASES				OBLIGATIONS* INCURRED	SOURCE OF FUNDS		
	Total Cases	Fami- lies	Unat- tached Indi- viduals	Total Per- sons		Federal	State	Local
November, 1933...	75,190	63,269	11,921	297,079	\$ 1,806,368	\$ 1,139,220	\$ 8,313.99	\$ 658,834
December, 1933...	65,720	53,446	12,274	258,759	1,066,972	8,000	799,562.43	349,410
Total, 1933.....					\$ 2,873,341	\$ 1,147,220	\$717,876.42	\$1,008,244
January, 1934.....	54,933	41,904	13,029	201,548	\$ 862,664	\$ 594,607		\$ 268,056
February.....	64,526	50,691	13,835	243,378	1,155,174	794,841		360,333
March.....	77,334	62,635	14,699	299,505	1,576,866	1,092,864		484,002
April.....	89,146	73,541	15,605	353,848	1,793,854	1,217,414		576,440
May.....	85,391	70,314	15,077	336,763	2,126,859	1,597,540		529,318
June.....	80,595	65,437	15,158	299,310	2,182,645	1,656,741		525,904
July.....	82,168	66,523	15,645	304,997	2,449,334	1,874,536		574,798
August.....	85,037	68,826	16,211	315,317	3,058,609	2,417,470		641,130
September.....	90,938	73,474	17,464	336,902	3,234,051	2,816,356		417,695
October.....	100,339	80,694	19,645	370,321	3,750,113	3,332,418		417,695
November.....	105,847	85,495	20,352	390,000	3,057,246	3,239,551		417,695
December.....	111,484	89,374	22,110	406,831	3,620,250	3,000,461		619,789
Total, 1934.....					\$29,467,672	\$23,634,813		\$5,832,859
January, 1935.....	116,676	93,800	22,876	427,528	\$ 4,135,415	\$ 3,277,647		\$ 857,767
February.....	117,224	93,537	23,687	426,861	4,312,525	3,598,352		714,173
March.....	117,218	92,804	24,414	424,022	3,967,237	3,445,797		521,439
April.....	114,952	90,538	24,414	416,116	3,813,799	2,860,828	\$400,000	552,970
May.....	108,237	84,130	24,098	383,359	3,853,305	2,904,615	450,000	498,689
June.....	102,001	78,785	23,216	359,535	3,311,722	2,831,564		480,158
Total, 1935.....					\$23,394,006	\$18,918,806	\$850,000	\$3,625,200

* Exclusive of State Office Administration and local contributions to work project materials.

It must be recognized that with the removal of many of the employable cases the remaining cases will include a larger proportion presenting serious social problems.

MADISON, WISCONSIN

SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION IN NEBRASKA

ERNEST F. WITTE

THE special session of the Nebraska legislature which convened in October, 1935, enacted a state program for social security which, despite many obvious defects, is a tremendous first step forward in an attempt to provide the citizens of Nebraska with a degree of security never before assured them. For the first time in the history of the state, the legislature has acknowledged the state's partial responsibility for the welfare of certain of its dependent groups by providing state funds for relief, aid to dependent children, maternal and child health, old age assistance, blind assistance, and aid for crippled children. State funds have never before been available for any of these purposes except for certain types of institutional care. The importance of the step taken by the special session can hardly be overemphasized, since it marks a definite turning-point in the division of responsibility between the state and its local subdivisions and state assumption of responsibility for other than institutional care.

NO PREVIOUS STATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PUBLIC WELFARE

Nebraska is not long removed from pioneering days, and its conception of government has been based on the idea that "the best government is the one that governs least." Until quite recently there has not been any determined demand on the part of the people that the state should assume at least partial responsibility for the care of those unable to care for themselves. Except for institutional care, whatever public aid has, in the past, been extended to these groups has always been required of the local (county) governments; and such care has always been very meager. Until quite recently there has been an abundance of land to which people might move and earn some kind of existence, however, inadequate. The present depression has emphasized the inability of local governments to con-

tinue to bear the complete financial responsibility for the increasing demands for public assistance. The depression has left many counties in the state with debts so large in comparison with revenue that there is serious doubt as to whether these debts can ever be met.¹

It is necessary to review briefly the history of welfare legislation and organization in the state if one is to understand the reasons underlying the passage of the type of security legislation recently enacted. Certainly the security legislation passed by the Nebraska legislature establishes a pattern of its own, particularly in the form of organization adopted.

EARLY WELFARE LEGISLATION

Early in her history, Nebraska established institutions to care for various classes of persons requiring care, but provided no state-wide administrative department charged with controlling all of them.

It was not until 1901 that the legislature established the State Board of Charities and Corrections to "... inspect, advise and report upon all the public and private agencies for charitable and cor-

¹ In order to extend federal aid longest to those counties needing it most, the Nebraska Emergency Relief Administration, now in process of liquidation, classified those counties co-operating with it into four groups, using the following methods in determining their ability to assume the costs of relief: (1) County levies were figured to determine the amount to be raised by taxation; but as warrants may be written only up to 85 per cent of the levy, 85 per cent of the levy is taken as the amount of money the county will have available to spend. (2) General fund, emergency unemployment relief, poor relief, and inheritance tax funds were inspected, as relief may be paid from any of these funds. (3) Three items in each fund account were taken into consideration: total obligations (including claims, registered warrants, and cash items), cash balance on hand, and amount available (represented by 85 per cent of the levy). Counties whose obligations were 71 per cent or more of their total ability to pay were placed in Group 1, to receive relief longest from federal funds; counties with obligations of 26-70 per cent were placed in Group 2; those with 1-25 per cent, in Group 3; and those with no debt, in Group 4.

One county, whose total tax income for general purposes and poor relief is \$73,230.25, has accumulated obligations in the amount of \$163,079.82, which means that it will take this county, at the present rate of income, more than two years to pay what it owes if it doesn't spend a single dollar from this time forward. There are approximately twenty-six counties in the state in Group 1, which indicates the serious financial condition in which these counties find themselves, one such county being the most populous county in the state.

rectional purposes in the state."² In 1919 this Board of Charities and Corrections was abolished with the adoption of the Civil Administrative Code, and was superseded by the newly created Department of Public Welfare,³ which was a part of this Administrative Code.

The legislature from time to time continued to establish state institutions to meet the growing demand.⁴

The original policy adopted by the state for the administration of its state institutions was to place their control either in the hands of a local board of citizens or in the control of the State Board of Public Lands and Buildings. This form of administration meant that each political change in the state government was likely to result in an entire change in the personnel of the institutions. A great deal of waste and many charges of graft were the natural consequence of such a system of administration. In 1912 a constitutional amendment was adopted which permitted the creation of a Board of Control, which board was established by the legislature on July 1, 1913.

² *Laws of Nebraska, 1901*, c. 72 (H.R. 72), p. 460. See also Hattie Plum Williams, "A Quarter Century of Social Work in Nebraska," president's address delivered at Nebraska State Conference of Social Work, Kearney, Nebraska, October 17, 1923 (unpublished), p. 11.

³ *Laws of Nebraska, 1919*, c. 190 (S.F. 2), pp. 436, 750 ff.

⁴ The state eleemosynary and correctional institutions, location and date of their establishment are as follows:

<i>Institution</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date Established</i>
School for Deaf.....	Nebraska City	1867
Hospital for Insane.....	Lincoln	1869
State Penitentiary.....	Lincoln	1870
School for Blind.....	Nebraska City	1875
Industrial School for Boys.....	Kearney	1879
Feeble-minded Institution.....	Beatrice	1885
Hospital for Insane.....	Norfolk	1885
Women's Industrial Home.....	Milford	1887
Hospital for Insane.....	Hastings	1887
Soldiers' and Sailors' Home.....	Grand Island	1887
Industrial Home for Girls.....	Geneva	1891
Soldiers' and Sailors' Home.....	Milford	1895
Home for Dependent Children.....	Lincoln	1897
Orthopedic Hospital.....	Lincoln	1905
Hospital for Tuberculous.....	Kearney	1911
Men's Reformatory.....	Lincoln	1921
Genoa State Hospital.....	Genoa	1925

See A. E. Sheldon, *Nebraska Civil Government* (Lincoln: University Publishing Co., 1935), pp. 284-88.

The entire administration of all state institutions other than educational institutions was placed in the hands of this board of three members. The board is appointed by the governor for six-year overlapping terms, and the members receive a salary for the performance of their duties.⁵ Although this system is not ideal, it was a decided improvement over methods previously employed, especially in the business aspects of institutional management.

In 1875 the state passed a compulsory education law and the first statute regulating child labor. In 1905 a Juvenile Court Act was passed. This was followed by an improved Child Labor Law in 1907. In 1915 a Mothers' Pension Act was passed, giving the counties the right to levy for the purpose of paying a mothers' pension.⁶ Neither the child labor laws, the Mothers' Pension Act, nor the Juvenile Court Act have been properly administered, their administration being hampered through failure of the legislature to provide adequate funds and qualified personnel.

In 1919 an independent Child Welfare Bureau was created, and by executive order of the governor it was shortly placed in the newly created Department of Public Welfare and given supervision over all the laws relating to children outside of state institutions. In 1931, in the reorganization of the Civil Administrative Code, the Department of Public Welfare was abolished; and only the Bureau of Child Welfare was retained, with such remaining functions of the State Department of Public Welfare as the legislature did not repeal. Under the revised law, all the duties that the Department of Public Welfare had inherited from the Board of Charities and Corrections were retained by the Bureau of Child Welfare.⁷ The new Child Welfare Bureau was made directly responsible to the governor. Its work has been seriously handicapped by appropriations so small that only

⁵ *Compiled Statutes of Nebraska, 1929*, sec. 83-101, p. 1689. See also Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 ff. The original name given this board was the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions. Clara Willman, "Management of State Institutions" (unpublished) paper for course in "Public Welfare Administration" at the University of Chicago. The Board of Control was established in accordance with Art. 4, sec. 19, of the state constitution, *Nebraska Blue Book, 1934*.

⁶ *Laws of Nebraska, 1915*, c. 187, p. 382.

⁷ This Bureau of Child Welfare was really a new bureau, since a new revised act creating the bureau was passed.

two, or at most three, workers could be employed to carry on its activities for the whole state. No standards for selection of personnel were established in the law, and usually no attempt has been made to employ qualified personnel in the work of the bureau.⁸ Thus, when the crisis began and grew more serious as the depression lengthened, there was no state-wide public agency that could be called upon to mobilize state resources or aid the counties in dealing with the situation.

STATE WELFARE LEGISLATION IN EFFECT AT THE BEGINNING
OF THE DEPRESSION

State laws in force in 1929 required county boards to levy a tax for mothers' pensions, but not to exceed two-tenths of a mill.⁹ In 1933, counties with a population of 150,000 or more were authorized to levy up to three-tenths of a mill for mothers' pensions,¹⁰ the funds to be administered by the county or district judge.¹¹ The counties were also permitted to pay from the general fund for the support of the blind an amount not to exceed \$300 per year for any one individual,¹² and the administration of this was placed in the hands of the county boards. In 1929 the counties were also required to levy a tax of not to exceed one-tenth of a mill to provide relief for ex-

⁸ *Compiled Statutes of Nebraska, 1929*, secs. 81-5701 to 5713, pp. 1674-75.

See also Willman, *op. cit.*, p. 9, which outlines in some detail the accomplishments of the Bureau of Child Welfare following the abolishment of the Department of Public Welfare, particularly in the period of Governor Weaver's administration, 1929-31, during which period a trained social worker was appointed to head the bureau.

⁹ *Compiled Statutes, Nebraska, 1929*, sec. 77-1801, p. 1508.

¹⁰ *C. S. Supplement, Nebraska, 1933*, sec. 77-1801, p. 264.

¹¹ The personnel of the county boards and the judge concerned frequently determines who actually administers mothers' pensions. A strong county board may virtually take over such administration, although this is contrary to law. Under the law, payments are not to exceed \$10 per month for one child under sixteen plus not to exceed \$10 for each additional child under sixteen, with maximum payments per family of not to exceed \$50 (*Compiled Statutes, Nebraska, 1929*, sec. 43-406, p. 1051.)

¹² *Ibid.*, secs. 68-126, 127, p. 1304. In 1933 the legislature made the payment of blind pensions mandatory on the counties, with payments of not to exceed \$25 per month per person (*C. S. Supplement, Nebraska, 1933*, sec. 68-127, p. 232). In 1935 the legislature required the counties to make a levy for assistance to the blind, the levy not to exceed $\frac{1}{2}$ mill. Payments were to be \$30 per month per person (*ibid.*, 1935, secs. 68-129 to 131, p. 365).

soldiers and ex-sailors,¹³ the administration of this act being placed in the hands of a paid commission of three persons, appointed by the county commissioners.¹⁴

In addition to these state acts authorizing or requiring the levying of taxes for specific welfare purposes, each county had a portion of the interest derived from a state aid fund, sometimes called the State Soldiers' and Sailors' Relief Fund. This fund is a \$2,000,000 state fund created in lieu of a state bonus to World War veterans. The Board of Educational Lands and Funds is the trustee of this fund, but it has designated the American Legion to administer the fund through its state department. A postservice officer in each county is designated as an agent in the county and makes recommendations to the state office for payment to veterans.¹⁵

There was, in 1929, no old age pension law; and none was enacted in Nebraska until 1933.¹⁶

A county relief levy was also permissible in 1929; but the levy for ordinary county revenue, including support of the poor, could not exceed more than 3 mills on the dollar valuation.¹⁷ These local relief funds were administered by the boards of county commissioners (or supervisors).

¹³ *Compiled Statutes, Nebraska, 1929*, sec. 77-1801, p. 1508.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 80-104, p. 1625.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, secs. 80-401 to 405, p. 1637. This fund yields an uncertain amount of revenue and can be used for the relief of World War veterans and nurses (allies) with honorable discharges. Surprisingly, no residence requirements are set up in the law.

¹⁶ *C. S. Supplement, Nebraska, 1933*, sec. 68-201, p. 232. This Act was mandatory and was to be administered by an old age assistance commission of five non-paid citizens to be appointed by the county commissioners or supervisors for a three-year term. The sole revenue provided was by a 50-cent tax on all persons between the ages of twenty-one and fifty, sane and not public charges. The law was practically inoperative for lack of revenue. In 1935 the legislature enacted the so-called O'Brien Old Age Pension Act (*ibid.*, 1935, sec. 68-228, p. 366).

¹⁷ *Compiled Statutes, Nebraska, 1929*, sec. 77-1801, p. 1508. In 1933 (see *C. S. Supplement, Nebraska, 1933*, sec. 77-1818, p. 266) the legislature permitted counties to levy an additional $\frac{1}{2}$ mill for general relief purposes during 1933 and 1934. The legislature of 1935 granted permission to the counties to make this additional levy if desired during 1936 and 1937. The 1933 legislature also required county boards to use all inheritance-tax revenue for general relief purposes (*ibid.*, sec. 77-2218, p. 271). This provision was extended, to continue during 1936 and 1937 (*ibid.*, 1935, Appendix, "Special Acts and Resolutions," c. 3, sec. [d], p. 499).

No provision was made in any of these acts for any state supervision or for any co-ordination of the work, except such as might be undertaken by the county commissioners themselves. In 1931 a law was passed permitting the establishing of a county board of public welfare, under which all county relief and welfare activities could be centered;¹⁸ but only one county has taken advantage of this legislation. Since no state department of public welfare was in existence to encourage the establishment of such county boards of public welfare or to instruct county commissioners in their use and functions, it is not surprising that county officials knew little concerning the law and that there was no effective demand for its use.¹⁹

FEDERAL RELIEF IN NEBRASKA

In the summer of 1933 the situation in Nebraska became very distressing, and state officials were under considerable pressure to avail themselves of existing federal laws to secure federal funds for relief. On June 14, 1933, representatives from Nebraska attended a conference in Washington to discuss the matter of federal relief; and

¹⁸ Platte County adopted a partial county welfare plan prior to the passage of the permissive County Unit Law of 1931. In reality, no county has actually availed itself of the full benefits of the law of 1931 (see *C. S. Supplement, Nebraska, 1931*, sec. 26-1901), which permits county commissioners to create a county board of public welfare, to be composed of five members, two of whom must be women, which board is empowered to employ a qualified social worker. Platte County has never co-ordinated all of its county welfare activities under such a county welfare unit.

¹⁹ No better illustration of the lack of knowledge concerning the purpose and scope of this permissive law of 1931 can be found than the following quotation taken from the *Omaha World Herald* of January 20, 1936, p. 1, "[District] Judge Herbert Rhoades [of Omaha, Douglas County] told the [County] Commissioners that in his opinion the 1931 law is not suited to meet the emergency confronting the county. Under it [the permissive law of 1931], he said, the relief set-up would have power to take over control of all civic, religious and fraternal charities, including the Community Chest and Masonic Home. (Italics mine.)"

"The law, he said, is not used by any Nebraska counties. It provides for appointment of a Board of Public Welfare composed of three men and two women empowered to check all facts and conditions relating to the public welfare, and to take every reasonable action to promote a county social service program. It provides for the appointment of a trained social worker who shall act as juvenile probation officer, and supervise poor relief and Mothers' pensions, said Judge Rhoades."

If a public official in as responsible a position as a district judgeship makes such an interpretation of a perfectly sound and workable law, there is little wonder that no use has been made of the law.

after a considerable amount of bickering over appointments and the question of federal dictation, Governor Bryan appointed a committee, to be known as the State Emergency Relief Committee, to administer federal funds in Nebraska, the first funds becoming available on July 12, 1933.²⁰ The history of the organization established for the administration of federal funds in Nebraska is a study in itself, and no detailed account will be attempted here. There were few precedents or experiences in the state on which to base a statewide welfare program; and there were no existing agencies, state or county, to which to intrust the administration of the funds made available. On October 15, 1933, after considerable confusion had resulted from the lack of proper organization and the growing burden of the work, a state administrator was appointed by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the State Emergency Relief Administration was authorized to administer the Civil Works Program.

The new Relief Administration proceeded cautiously in the formation of policies and in the assumption of the relief burdens. Counties were suspicious that their authority and prerogatives might be jeopardized. The Federal Relief Administration feared that the counties would attempt to shift the entire financial burden to federal funds. One of the first policies adopted by the state administrator and the State Emergency Relief Committee was, therefore, that federal funds (no state funds having been provided) would be allotted to the counties only on the basis of need and only after the counties had clearly demonstrated that they could not reasonably bear the burden alone. They were required, however, to continue the same levies and to contribute at least the same percentage of funds for relief purposes (including soldiers' and sailors' relief, mothers' pensions, blind and old age assistance) as heretofore, and to use for relief purposes such revenues from inheritance taxes as were collected. Authority to use inheritance taxes for relief purposes through March, 1936, was granted by the 1933 legislature.²¹ This legislature also

²⁰ The first federal relief operations in the state were connected with the enrolment of youths for CCC camps. The first federal relief grant of \$150,000 was for a case load of about 9,000, the exact numbers of which cannot be determined because there was no adequate method of gathering this information.

²¹ The 1935 legislature extended this provision for the period through March, 1937. See above, n. 17.

authorized the counties to levy, for a limited time, an extra $\frac{1}{2}$ mill tax for poor relief purposes; and the Relief Administration insisted that this be done.²² In fact, under the policies adopted by the State Relief Administration, counties were actually required to contribute approximately half of their total revenue for relief purposes.

A second policy adopted required the counties to turn county relief funds over to the county representatives of the State Emergency Relief Administration for disbursement so that there would be only one public agency expending relief funds within a given county.

Many county officials were, for obvious reasons, extremely hostile to this program from the beginning, and certain counties refused to abide by these policies. As a consequence, they received no federal funds whatever; and, in spite of the fact that very distressing reports were received from individuals in these counties as to the dire needs of those requiring aid,²³ they persevered in this policy. At no time prior to 1935 did the state government make any attempt to provide any funds whatever for relief purposes, the counties contributing approximately 10 per cent of the total funds used for all relief purposes and between 23 and 25 per cent of the total funds used for general relief purposes.²⁴

Because of the haste with which the state-wide organization was established and because of the entire lack of experience with any kind of state-wide public welfare program within the state or counties, very little responsibility was delegated to local officials, and most of the work of the Emergency Relief Administration was directed from state headquarters. This gave rise to a pronounced feeling in the counties that they were being dictated to by state and fed-

²² Under the act eighty counties are allowed a maximum levy of 4 mills for general and poor relief purposes, and thirteen counties a maximum of 5 mills. The right to make this extra levy was extended by the 1935 legislature through March, 1937 (*C. S. Supplement, Nebraska, 1935*, sec. 77-1820, p. 421).

²³ In one such county a contractor informed a Relief Administration representative that unemployed men received such inadequate help from the county that they had to be fed for approximately two weeks before they were strong enough to be of much use to him. A doctor in the same county reported that children in that county would probably never recover from the effects of the malnutrition they suffered during this period. Officials of this county were finally persuaded to accept federal assistance, and the relief director reports the need for help as desperate.

²⁴ Nebraska Emergency Relief Administration, *Bulletin on Relief Statistics*, Vol. I, Nos. 1-5.

eral authorities, and in a measure this was essentially true. Since there had been little public welfare work within the state prior to the advent of federal relief, it was difficult to secure qualified staff. Staff members, mostly local residents, were employed wherever they could be obtained; but there was little time to make careful selections.²⁵ Many of these untrained and inexperienced individuals immediately became identified as social workers, and a great deal of hostility toward social workers developed throughout the state, since without doubt some very poor work was performed by some of these unqualified workers.²⁶

FEDERAL REQUIREMENTS FOR STATE RELIEF FUNDS

Early in 1935, the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator demanded that the state furnish a minimum of \$4,000,000 for relief purposes as its proportion of the total funds to be expended during the year. After considerable wrangling on the part of the legislature, which charged federal dictation and conducted a farcical investigation of the Relief Administration,²⁷ the legislature enacted the first State Assistance Act, in the regular session of 1935.²⁸ This levied the first state-wide tax for relief ever enacted in Nebraska and was expected to provide a sum of \$4,000,000 for the biennium. It was ex-

²⁵ Some of the untrained and inexperienced workers developed remarkably and performed much more creditably than did some of those with more formal training. Most of the professional staff employed acquitted themselves extremely well in a state which before 1931 had scarcely heard of social work (outside of Omaha and Lincoln).

²⁶ With the liquidation of the federal program in 1936, county commissioners, despite their reported hostility toward social workers, retained many of the qualified social workers to direct the new state assistance program, which seems to indicate that the cry in the legislature and in the counties against social workers was really directed against the untrained and, in some cases, incompetent ones who were identified as social workers but who in reality were not, or by those individuals who wanted jobs in the program but who could not secure them.

²⁷ *House Journal, Nebraska*, 50th Sess., 110th Day, "Report of the Committee Concerning Investigation of Relief Administration of the State," pp. 2042 ff.

²⁸ H.R. 675, with companion measures, known as S.F. 363, H.R. 432, and S.F. 367. H.R. 432 imposed an additional 1-cent motor-vehicle fuel tax to be in effect from March 1, 1935, to June 30, 1936, for "assistance to its citizens who are eligible under Federal legislation to work relief, direct relief, old age assistance, assistance to dependent mothers and children, unemployment insurance, health of mothers and children, public health, or related matters of security and welfare, and public works, especially roads, by the use of work relief."

pected that the other \$2,000,000 a year would be raised by the counties, thus meeting the demands of the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator that a minimum of \$4,000,000 per year must be provided by the state and its subdivisions. This first State Assistance Act and the machinery that it contemplated was passed in lieu of providing a State Department of Public Welfare. A determined fight for such a department was waged by the Nebraska Conference of Social Work during this session of the legislature. A Committee of the Nebraska Conference of Social Work had labored long and conscientiously in the preparation of a bill to create a unified Department of Public Welfare, and such a bill was introduced in the legislature in order that a permanent state-wide agency might be ready to take over the work of the temporary relief agency and such new programs as might develop. Unfortunately, the committee attempted to bring within the Department of Public Welfare the State Department of Health and the State Department of Labor, against the recommendations of experts in the field of public welfare administration. As a consequence, the hostility of organized labor and organized medicine was incurred; and those who should have been friendly and whose help was needed to put the measure through the legislature were arrayed against it. Medical and labor groups felt, and perhaps justly so, that social workers were attempting to dominate affairs outside their fields. No attempt was made to put control of state eleemosynary and correctional institutions in the hands of the proposed Department of Public Welfare, as the Board of Control is a constitutional agency and an amendment to the constitution would be necessary to make such a change. The battle waged to create a comprehensive Department of Public Welfare created such hostility that it will require a long period for the state to recover from it.

THE FIRST STATE ASSISTANCE ACT, 1935

In brief, this Act provided for the appointment by the governor of a State Assistance Committee of seven non-paid citizens in whom was vested the administration of the Act, while the Board of Educational Lands and Funds was designated as trustee for the funds provided. Members of the committee were to be appointed from Congressional districts (not more than two from any given district could

be appointed) and were to serve during the pleasure of the governor. Wide discretionary powers were given to this first State Assistance Committee as to how it was to administer the funds, the staff it was to employ, methods of administration, and the use to which the funds were to be put. In this Act, the legislature attempted to meet the immediate emergency situation and to anticipate the federal security legislation then in process of enactment, in order that the state of Nebraska might benefit from any such legislation passed by the Federal Congress without the necessity of calling a special session. Section 9 of the Act provided that "rules adopted by the administration under this act shall have the force and effect of law."²⁹ Section 13 provided that the State Assistance Committee should determine the need for assistance in any county and make funds available on the basis of need, and gave the State Assistance Committee the authority "to supervise or administer assistance in cases where conditions as to administration may make such procedure advisable."³⁰ Section 15 provided that no aid should be given to any political subdivision unless the governing body accepted by resolution the provisions of the Act.³¹ Under the Act revenue was to be raised by a 1-cent gasoline tax to operate until July 1, 1936, unless by proclamation the governor should discontinue the tax prior to that date. Three hundred thousand dollars was also appropriated from funds already collected on malt beverages, hard liquors, and liquor-license fees.³² A second measure to be enacted, known as S.F. 137, was an Old Age Pension Law providing for a mandatory \$30-per-month old age pension to any person meeting the qualifications established by the Act, and created the office of commissioner of old age pensions, to be appointed by the governor. A separate old age pension fund, distinct from the general assistance funds appropriated, was created by placing a tax of \$2.00 upon every male and female inhabitant in the state of Nebraska between the ages of twenty-one and fifty years of age (sane and not public charges) and by the allocation of such funds as the State Assistance Committee might designate to be used for old age pensions.

²⁹ *C. S. Supplement, Nebraska, 1935*, secs. 68-301 to 316, p. 370. This was the first State Assistance Act and was eventually declared unconstitutional.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, sec. 68-313, p. 371. ³¹ *Ibid.*, sec. 68-315, p. 371. ³² *Ibid.*, sec. 68-311, p. 370.

There was some conflict between the State Assistance Act known as H.R. 675 and the Old Age Pension Act known as S.F. 137 in that the State Assistance Committee was "vested with entire responsibility for the administration of the State Assistance Fund,"³³ whereas the commissioner of old age pensions (whose office was created by S.F. 137) was designated as "... the single State of Nebraska Agency to administer and supervise the administration of the Old Age Pension Fund. . . ."³⁴ To avoid conflict and to forestall criticism, the commissioner of old age pensions was made secretary of the State Assistance Committee. The governor appointed the seven members of the State Emergency Relief Committee to be the State Assistance Committee, in order to correlate state and federal relief activities.

FIRST STATE ASSISTANCE ACT DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL

The first policy which the State Assistance Committee adopted was the same as it had adopted while acting as the State Emergency Relief Committee, namely, that of apportioning state funds according to need and requiring the counties to put up all possible revenue for relief purposes. The committee also decided to insist upon a joint county spending agency, over whose personnel they expected to exercise supervision. A suit was immediately filed in the Supreme Court questioning the constitutionality of the State Assistance Act.³⁵ One of the contentions on which the plaintiffs hoped to have the Act declared unconstitutional was that the money was to be distributed according to need and would not necessarily be distributed to all counties. As a matter of fact, some of the counties which were named in the suit as not receiving their share of relief funds had refused to co-operate with the State Emergency Relief Committee because they objected to the rules which required them to apportion certain of their revenues for relief purposes. It was contended that, since all counties were required to pay the tax, they were all entitled to a proportionate share of such taxes, regardless of their need or the regulations adopted by the committee.

³³ *Ibid.*, sec. 68-303, p. 369.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 68-247, p. 367.

³⁵ *Smithberger v. Banning* (Supreme Court of Nebraska, September 20, 1935), 262 North Western Reporter 492. The counties particularly concerned in the suit were Stanton, Phelps, Nemaha, Cuming, Keith, Sioux, Saline, Sarpy, Cass, Colfax, Wayne, Seward, Antelope, Butler, Merrick, Gosper, Dawson, Saunders, and Grant.

The Nebraska Petroleum Marketers, Inc., and Calvin J. Stover intervened, in an attempt to invalidate the 1-cent gasoline tax levied for purposes of the Act. The State Supreme Court declared the Act unconstitutional for the following reasons: (1) The legislature unlawfully delegated its sovereign power to legislate to an administrative board. (2) The state legislature has no power to delegate any of its legislative powers to an outside agency, such as the Congress of the United States, which it did in effect by attempting to meet federal legislation not yet enacted. (3) The legislature established no rules and standards for guidance in the distribution of the funds provided for the various purposes set out in the Act, thus leaving unlawful arbitrary discretion with an administrative board. In a concurring separate opinion, Mr. Justice Paine gave as a further reason for holding the Act unconstitutional that, in his opinion, the distribution of funds was discriminatory. He states:

It is convincing to me that, while a state-wide tax for the benefit of all needy persons throughout the state would be for a public purpose, yet when the benefits of a state-wide tax are limited, and can only be expended in a definite portion of the state, to the exclusion of the balance of the state, it is not a public purpose, and is clearly illegal for that reason.³⁶

Although the majority opinion of the court did not pass on the contention of the plaintiffs that the rule to distribute the funds according to need, rather than on a population or other basis, was unconstitutional, this contention was implied in the decision, in the opinion of those charged with the drafting of a new substitute Act. And the concurring separate opinion of Justice Paine, upholding this complaint of the plaintiffs, carried considerable weight with the legislature, as shown by the provisions of the later Act adopted. The court did not rule as to whether the funds collected by the gasoline tax should be returned to the petroleum-dealers, and such suit is now pending.³⁷

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 501. It seems that, under such an interpretation, state school, and road funds which are expended as the proper state agency decides may, by this precedent, be unconstitutional.

³⁷ At its special session in October, 1935, the legislature has attempted to make certain that the funds thus collected would not need to be returned and would be available for the original purposes for which they were collected (see *C. S. Supplement, Nebraska, 1935*, Appendix, "Acts of 51st [Special] Legislature," H.R. 11 and H.R. 15, pp. 543, 547).

The invalidation of the Act by the Supreme Court made it impossible to expend any state funds during 1935 for relief purposes, and the federal government and the counties have continued to carry the entire relief burden until the present time.

NEW SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION CONSIDERED

In October, 1935, the governor called a special session to enact legislation which would take the place of that invalidated by the court and would meet the requirements of the new Federal Social Security Act. The governor recommended a specific program to the legislature which he considered necessary to meet all phases of the Federal Security Program with the exception of unemployment insurance. This subject had been referred to a special committee of manufacturers and labor representatives for study and recommendation. The governor's recommendations (particularly with reference to the administrative machinery and the funds to be provided) were as nearly like the original State Assistance Act as it was possible to draft, keeping in mind the opinion of the Supreme Court as to the constitutional defects of the original Act.

The hostility of the legislature toward the whole program became immediately apparent as soon as the proposed laws were referred to committees of the legislature for study. Unfortunately, as members had been summoned to convene before the bills were in final shape for presentation, there was little to occupy their time; and they became irritated. Then, many of the bills had been hastily and carelessly drafted, so that after introduction they had to be withdrawn for correction, which caused some suspicion and ill feeling. Political leaders had not had the program explained to them before the legislature met, so that they were as confused as the general membership concerning the huge new program which they were now asked to enact in a very short time.³⁸

³⁸ The state constitution provides that members of a special session are to be paid \$10 per day for actual days in session, but for a period not longer than ten days. The session lasted from October 28 to November 25, and many members were angry because they were being held in session at their own expense. There was considerable talk of adjournment, thus forcing the governor to issue a second special call, in order that members might again receive compensation. No more confusing session of the legislature can be recalled by many persons who have watched the legislature in action for many years past.

LEGISLATIVE HOSTILITY TOWARD THE STATE RELIEF
ADMINISTRATION

These factors, plus the open hostility of the membership toward the State Emergency Relief Administration, gave rise to an immediate revolt against the governor's recommendations. Legislators were determined that the Social Security Program, if they enacted one, should not be placed in the hands of the State Emergency Relief Committee whose members the governor had previously designated as the first State Assistance Committee and whom he was quite likely to reappoint, should such a committee be re-established to administer the new program. Not all of the reasons for this hostility toward the Relief Administration on the part of legislators are known, but undoubtedly in the course of relief operations feelings had been injured and many ambitions checked. Probably outstanding among the reasons were: (a) the absolute refusal of the committee to allocate funds to any county without having adequate local control over their expenditures; (b) refusal to allot funds on any other basis than need as determined by the financial condition of the county and the case load; (c) refusal to interfere in any way with purely administrative matters, which meant that the committee exercised no control over appointments and hence political consideration played no part in the selection of staff members or the allotment of funds.

The most frequent castigations on the floor of the legislature were made against so-called "social workers," about whom all manner of charges were made. In reality, however, the "social worker" was simply the target against which charges were brought, because she was the symbol of their discontent and stood immediately between the legislator (or some of his constituents) and the things wanted. In other words, social workers protect relief clients from the politicians. This is not to say that the legislature had no basis of complaint regarding the Relief Administration. Many mistakes were bound to occur in the handling of relief matters, from the very nature of the problem and the haste with which the organization was established. Members of the legislature, however, were prone to draw general conclusions about the whole organization after hearing about one case and without making any investigation. It is difficult

to believe that the reasons for hostility toward the Relief Administration, as publicly expressed, were always the real reasons. The files of the Relief Administration often reveal the real reasons, which are frequently at variance with those stated.

Legislators were also influenced in their attitude by a very active group of disgruntled relief recipients who, without knowing it, were used by their leaders to help defeat the program which was designed to do the most for them. Using the cloak of federal usurpation of local authority as their reason, this group demanded the return of all welfare administration to county commissioners and opposed the establishment of anything resembling a state department of public welfare.³⁹ It was apparent early in the legislative session that drastic modification of the governor's recommendations would be necessary if any partially satisfactory legislation was to be secured. There was no outstanding leadership which could be depended upon to carry through the governor's recommendations, and many members did not understand the various proposals laid before them.⁴⁰ The committees charged with study of the bills revised them so continuously that it was impossible to see any consistency in the proposals made. In utter confusion, it was proposed that the entire program of social security legislation should be administered by the state treasurer, with his existing facilities. A substitute bill to establish this plan was framed by the committee. Under this plan the money would be paid to the county treasurer, while a county assistance committee, composed of the county board and county treasurer (and county welfare board, if in existence), was to be the local administrative agent and no state supervisory machinery was deemed necessary. The leg-

³⁹ As evidence that this group was not fully aware of the import of their demands, it should be pointed out that the same members had led demonstrations and leveled continuous criticism at the county commissioners earlier in the depression when they were administering relief directly. The low budgets, against which so many of them complained, had been considerably lower prior to the advent of the State Emergency Relief Administration and were cut drastically early in January, 1936, when the county again assumed control. It is difficult to account for their attitude except that they were doubtless misled by talk of large salaries being paid, and that, being "outs," they were against the "ins."

⁴⁰ Several legislators with whom the writer talked believed the old age pension constituted the entire social security program. Certainly the question of pensions is the most politically important phase of social security.

islaters were determined, it seems, that there should be no dictation to the counties on how the funds were to be expended or the uses to which they were to be put. Federal representatives of the Social Security Board conferred with the governor, and it was quite evident that such a proposal would not meet with the approval of the board in view of the provisions of the federal law which required state-wide supervision⁴⁷ as a condition of receipt of federal funds. After days of continued wrangling and talk of federal dictation, a compromise was arrived at whereby the governor's proposal for a State Assistance Committee to be appointed by himself was abandoned, and the legislature agreed to give up its plan to make the state treasurer the agent for the administration of the state program. Instead, it was agreed that the Board of Educational Lands and Funds, composed of constitutional state officers, namely, the governor, the attorney-general, the state treasurer, the secretary of state, and the commissioner of public lands and buildings, should constitute the State Assistance Committee. Following this compromise, the legislature, having achieved one of its major objectives, rather quickly passed bills designed to meet every phase of the federal program requiring state legislation, with the exception of unemployment compensation. The committee to which the subject of unemployment compensation had been referred had drafted a bill which it recommended to the legislature. In the hearings on the bill before a legislative committee, difficulties were encountered when labor representatives insisted that all employers of one or more persons must come under the Act, while representatives of industry contended that the Act should not go further than the federal Security Act, which brought employers of eight or more persons under the compensation provisions. Labor refused to compromise on this point; and the legislature, refusing to meet their demands, passed no unemployment compensation measure of any kind. Another reason given for the failure of the passage of the Act was the fact that many legislators did not understand the Act; and they felt that there would be many abuses under it.

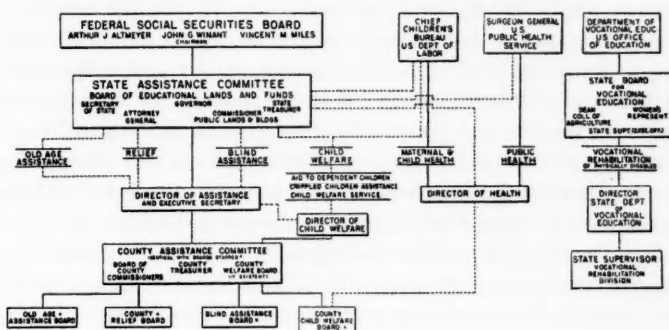
⁴⁷ *U.S. Public No. 271, 74th Cong. (Social Security Act)*, p. 2.

THE SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAM ADOPTED

House Roll No. 3 is the so-called "key" bill providing for the administrative organization and the division of funds for the various purposes set forth in the Act. On this page a chart is presented showing the general organization provided to carry out the program. Only a brief description of the organization is necessary since the chart is in the main self-explanatory. As previously pointed out, the Board of Educational Lands and Funds is designated as the State

CHART I

NEBRASKA ORGANIZATION FOR SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION



Assistance Committee and is to serve without additional compensation except for actual expenses which members may incur in the performance of their duties. The board is empowered to appoint a director of assistance, whose duty it becomes to carry out the policies established by the State Assistance Committee and to correlate, as much as possible, all activities provided for in the various acts. The salary of the director of assistance was originally established at \$4,000. The legislative committee which heard the federal representative explain that \$4,000 was hardly an adequate salary to attract one competent to direct so large a program promptly recommended that the salary be reduced to \$3,000 because, as one representative stated, "\$3,000 looks mighty big to a Nebraska farmer." The salary was established at \$3,000.

County assistance committees are to be established in every county of the state and are to be composed of the board of county commissioners or supervisors and the county treasurer. The law also provides that if there is a county welfare board (created under the permissive law of 1931, previously cited) the county welfare board shall also be members of the county assistance committee.⁴² In some counties this committee becomes very unwieldy as, for example, in York County, where there are twenty members of the board of supervisors who, together with the county treasurer, comprise the county assistance committee. If a county welfare board were created, this would add five additional members, making a county assistance committee of twenty-six members. The county assistance committees are also designated as special boards for the administration of the special programs. They become, upon occasion, the county child welfare boards, county old age pension boards, county blind assistance boards, and the county relief boards. Each board is required to meet at least once every month, with the exception of the county relief board, which must meet once every two weeks.⁴³ Members of the county assistance committee must perform all the duties assigned to them, in addition to their work as county commissioners or county treasurer, without additional compensation except for actual expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

THE STATE ASSISTANCE FUND

A State Assistance Fund, a portion of which became immediately available upon passage of the State Assistance Act in December, 1935, and which is to be used up through June 30, 1937, provides a state fund of \$4,513,000 for a period of approximately seventeen months, plus any federal funds which may be allotted.⁴⁴ Twen-

⁴² An attempt was made to get the legislature to change the wording of this provision of the Act (see H.R. 3, sec. 10) to read "or" the county welfare board instead of "and" the county welfare board, but the attempt was unsuccessful.

⁴³ No explanation has been given as to why the county assistance committee has been designated a special board for each major activity. The reason may be to keep the programs as separate as possible.

⁴⁴ No expenditures have yet been made for any purpose from this State Assistance Fund, and it appears that no expenditures will be made prior to February 1, 1936. The amount of the fund will vary according to head and gasoline-tax collections, and estimates range from \$4,513,000 to approximately \$4,900,000.

ty-five thousand dollars became immediately available for state administration plus 2 per cent of the balance of funds collected. Originally 1 per cent was recommended by the legislative committee; but after much urging on the part of federal representatives, this amount was increased to 2 per cent, which many consider wholly inadequate, considering, for example, that the cost of the child welfare services are almost wholly administrative. Fixing administrative costs by legislative enactment and making the amount so small indicates the effect on the legislature of the many unfounded charges leveled at the State Emergency Relief Administration that its administrative costs were excessive.⁴⁵

The counties are allowed to spend 3 per cent of the funds granted them, plus such other county funds as they may wish to make available, for administrative purposes. It was only after considerable controversy that the legislature allowed the counties this small degree of flexibility in administrative costs.⁴⁶ The balance of the fund is to be allocated for specific activities in the following proportions: old age assistance, not more than 57.27 per cent; relief, not more than 24.52 per cent; aid to dependent children, not more than 15.56 per cent; blind assistance, not more than 1.56 per cent; crippled children, not more than 0.78 per cent; child welfare, not more than 0.31 per cent.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Administrative costs in the state for relief expenditures have averaged approximately between 10 and 11 per cent, with average salary of \$84 per month. This includes salaries of county employees, all of whom were carried on the state pay-roll. Service activities of the Relief Administration were comparatively small in comparison with the service activities contemplated in the social security program. There is some question as to whether the amount established by the legislature for administration can be used in addition to the 5 per cent provided for administration by the federal government from its grants. The legislation requires all federal funds to be turned over to the state treasurer and then reappropriated, making it questionable whether the state can spend any part of the federal grant for administration, beyond the 2 per cent specified. In any case, the intent of the legislature is clear.

⁴⁶ The first county in the state to organize under this Act was Hall County, where conservative estimates place the administrative costs at not less than 8 per cent and more likely at 10 per cent of total funds to be expended.

⁴⁷ This is an additional appropriation to the Bureau of Child Welfare, presumably to provide for the cost of the additional work placed upon the Bureau of Child Welfare by the new program (see *C. S. Supplement, Nebraska, 1935*, Appendix, "Acts of 51st [Special] Legislature," pp. 523 ff.). The State Assistance Committee estimates the

An editorial in *The Citizen*, a weekly devoted to criticism and edited by one of the leaders of the unemployed previously referred to, explains one reason for the restrictions placed on administrative costs which, it is believed, will seriously hamper efficient administration of the acts.⁴⁸ This article denounced the "high-salaried 'social service' workers" of Nebraska, called attention to social workers on the Federal Social Security Board, and held that "Gov. Cochran's bill introduced as H.R. 3 would have continued the unlimited domination of the 'social service' forces."

The powers of the State Assistance Committee are very limited, and the governor has repeatedly asserted that the administration of the Social Security Program is to be largely a county affair, with a minimum of state "interference." The determining factor, seemingly, which led to the particular form of state organization provided was the desire to restrict state control to the point which would meet the minimum requirements necessary to pass the Federal Social Security Board, so that federal funds might be secured. The duties of the State Committee include: the co-ordination of activities of the various agencies involved, determination of the monthly allotments to the counties, conducting of such independent investigations as may be necessary,⁴⁹ formulation of necessary rules and regulations for administration, and employment of such assistants as may be necessary to carry on the work. The director of assistance is directly in charge of aid to the blind, aid to the aged, and relief. The director of the Bureau of Child Welfare, who is appointed by the

following amounts will be available for specific purposes for the period of the Act (to June 30, 1936):

Old age assistance.....	\$3,066,798.12
Balance in former fund.....	\$ 57,926.07
Estimated collection \$2.00 head tax.....	490,000.00
Allotted from general fund (gas tax).....	2,518,872.12
Relief.....	1,078,448.45
Blind assistance.....	68,612.54
Aid to dependent children.....	684,366.14
Total.....	\$4,898,225.25

⁴⁸ *The Citizen* (Lincoln, Nebraska), January 4, 1936.

⁴⁹ This was inserted at the request of federal authorities, who maintained that unless the board had independent investigating powers, it could exercise very little supervision over the expenditure of funds in the counties.

governor, is charged with the administration of aid to dependent children, child welfare activities, and aid to crippled children, in addition to previous statutory duties. In some capacities the director of child welfare is responsible to the director of assistance, who, according to the Child Welfare Act of 1935, exercises certain control over the child welfare activities, such as approval of aid to be extended to dependent children. In other capacities, the director of the Bureau of Child Welfare is directly responsible to the governor for carrying on those statutory activities which were in existence prior to the passage of the State Assistance Act. The Department of Health will administer public health and maternal and child health programs. The director of health is directly responsible to the governor for part of his activities and to the State Assistance Committee for others. To add to the complications in the state's welfare program, all the institutional activities are under the direct supervision of the Board of Control, which is an independent body appointed by the governor.

Although the state administrative machinery has not yet been completely organized by the State Assistance Committee, and some means may be found to reconcile some of these difficulties, it can readily be seen that co-ordinative skill of the highest order will be necessary if all these agencies are to work harmoniously in carrying out their numerous activities. The one unifying agent for the various activities is the office of the governor, but this official is already so burdened that it is doubtful if he can devote the necessary time to what will be almost a day-by-day task of co-ordination.

EVALUATION OF LEGISLATION ENACTED

Space does not permit detailed criticism of all the legislation enacted. A reading of the various bills indicates that in some respects they were hastily drawn by persons with little experience in public welfare administration. It is difficult enough for the law to require the administering official to arrive at an approximate value of property, taxation experts agree; but this difficulty is added to in the present old age assistance law by making it necessary to figure an arbitrary income of 5 per cent from such property, even though it is

known that the property yields no income to the applicant, and to deduct this amount from the possible benefits to be paid.⁵⁰

House Roll No. 13 provides even more administrative difficulties. Section 9, for example, states:

The Board and its agents and employees, immediately upon the passage and approval of this Act, shall make a full and complete investigation and survey throughout the county and shall determine therefrom the number of unemployed and destitute individuals and families in the county, their financial condition, the nature, extent and value of their property, the physical and mental condition of such persons, their ability to work, the class and amount of work which they are capable of doing or learning to do, the public work projects which are or may be undertaken in the county, the positions in private employment which are or may be open, the amount of county and state funds which will be required to supplement the funds furnished by the political subdivisions within the county to carry out the objects and purposes of this Act, the number and names of persons receiving public or private assistance other than work or home and transient relief, and such other matters as will enable the Board properly to administer this Act. Hearings shall be had, witnesses sworn and testimony taken, if necessary to determine the above matters.⁵¹

If the board attempted to carry out literally the provisions of this section before granting any relief, persons in need would be likely to be beyond the need of help before grants could be made.

Section 12 of the same Act provides:

Upon its determination of the disposition to be made of each application, the Board shall issue a certificate in writing in triplicate, signed by the chairman for the Board, notifying the applicant of the allowance or disallowance of his application, as the case may be. If the application shall have been allowed, the certificate shall state the name, age, residence, trade, calling or profession, and former main occupation of the applicant, the same information with respect to the dependents, if any, of the applicant and/or his dependents, if any, and the project or projects, if any, to which the applicant and/or his dependents, if any, shall or may be assigned for work. Notice in writing of any change in his budget certificate shall be given by the Board to each recipient and such written notice shall be deemed an appealable order of the Board.⁵²

Again, section 14 states:

An appeal from every finding and order allowing or disallowing an application for relief or changing the budget certificate of a recipient may be taken

⁵⁰ *C. S. Supplement, Nebraska, 1935*, Appendix, "Acts of 51st [Special] Legislature," H.R. 17, p. 549.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 545.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 546.

by any applicant or by any taxpayer of the county to the State Assistance Committee. Within ten days from the date of issuance of any order, notice or certificate, as herein provided, the person who desires to appeal therefrom may file with the Board a notice of appeal and petition in writing, in triplicate, setting forth therein the grounds of said appeal. The Board shall forward to the Director of Assistance a transcript or copy of the original application, notice or certificate or order, as the case may be, and a copy of the notice of appeal and petition. The Director of Assistance shall, thereupon, by order fix a time and place for hearing said appeal, the time to be not more than six weeks and not less than three weeks from the date of said order, and the place to be in the county where the applicant or recipient resides, and notice of the time and place of said hearing shall be given to all parties interested in said appeal, by serving a copy of said order upon them. Hearings upon such appeal shall be held by the Director of Assistance or his duly authorized agent. Sworn testimony shall be received; witnesses may be subpoenaed by the person conducting said hearing; and oaths may be administered by him. After full hearing of such appeal has been had the Director of Assistance shall submit a written report therefor together with his findings to the State Assistance Committee, who, upon consideration of the same shall affirm, reverse or modify the finding, certificate or order of the Board, and shall cause the Director of Assistance to give written notice of such decision upon said appeal to the parties thereto and to the county board. Said decision of the State Assistance Committee shall be absolute, final and binding upon all parties thereto and to the county boards.⁵³

These two sections make it possible for any taxpayer or relief recipient to appeal any action of the board or its agents. A change in the budget can be made the subject of an elaborate and expensive appeal. A taxpayer or a group of dissatisfied clients might conceivably tie up operations of the board for a considerable period of time.

Section 15, which provides:

All written notices required by this Act to be given to applicants, recipients or parties to appeals, may be served by personal delivery or by mailing the same to the person to be notified, by registered mail, return receipt requested. Costs of hearings and appeals shall be paid from the expense funds of the county board.⁵⁴

indicates to some extent how difficult it may be to limit administrative costs to the amounts specified by law.

No one would argue that provision should not be made for persons with complaints to have an adequate hearing, but it hardly seems necessary to provide machinery and procedures which resemble hear-

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 545-46.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 546.

ings held by courts of law. The implications of such methods are obvious.

Without going into a further discussion of the merits of the individual acts comprising the state social security legislation, it is obvious that there are certain glaring defects common to the whole program. In many instances what are here considered as defects were deliberately insisted upon by the legislators for reasons which have been partially explained in earlier parts of this article.

Briefly, the more obvious defects of the legislation may be summarized as follows:

1. A true department of public welfare is not created.⁵⁵ The State Assistance Committee, by its very nature, is political. Its members might all conceivably lose their offices at the same time, since each member is subject to re-election once every two years. Each member of the committee is also the head of an important department of state government and is a member of many other boards and committees and is too busy to devote adequate time to this new function. The board is also subject to the caprices of recipients or would-be recipients of assistance, whose whims of the moment may not be satisfied. Such co-ordination of activities as may take place between the director of assistance, director of child welfare, director of health, Board of Vocational Education, and Board of Control will be more or less accidental and can only be brought about because of the governor's appointive power of these various officials.

2. The county units are not so subject to the direction of the state that minimum uniform standards of administration can be required. The county assistance committees are likewise political.⁵⁶ Few standards are established in the Act for their guidance.

⁵⁵ On p. 105 an outline of a Department of Public Welfare (Chart II) is presented which the writer believes would be suitable for Nebraska. To those who argue that such a central co-ordinated state agency is not needed, one might similarly contend that no state department for road-building is required unless there is an interest in seeing that roads throughout the state are uniformly built and well-maintained and are built where most needed.

⁵⁶ While it is true that boards of county commissioners have been responsible for some of these same duties previously, few students of the subject will seriously contend that they are qualified to administer public welfare legislation. They have never, heretofore, been allotted state funds for this purpose in Nebraska.

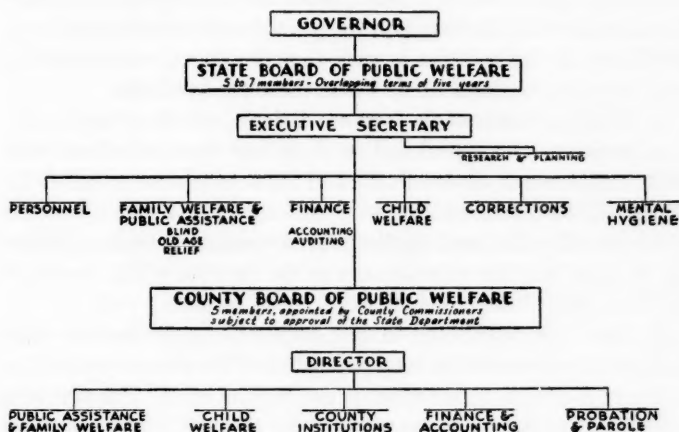
3. The legislature failed to repeal or amend old laws which deal with these same subjects in order to correlate the old with the new. There still remain county mothers' pensions, poor relief, and county soldiers' and sailors' relief as provided by previous laws.

The revenue to be derived from county sources for these purposes is uncertain, since the amount that can be levied is discretionary, except that a maximum is established. No co-ordination of these functions is provided except such as the county commissioners or

CHART II

A PROPOSED STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

(See p. 104)



supervisors themselves may be able to provide. In some cases, such as aid to dependent children, under skilled administration progress can be made. The new legislation⁵⁷ follows the basis of federal contributions in providing a maximum of \$18 for a single child and \$12 maximum for each succeeding child. Under the old county Mothers' Pension Act⁵⁸ the maximum allowed is \$10 for one child, \$10 for each succeeding child, with \$50 as the limit that may go to any one

⁵⁷ *C. S. Supplement, Nebraska, 1935, Appendix, "Acts of 51st [Special] Legislature,"* H.R. 19, sec. 12, p. 555.

⁵⁸ *Compiled Statutes, Nebraska, 1929, sec. 43-406, p. 1051.*

family. The new Act designates no family maximum for aid to dependent children, which would mean that within the limitations laid down the amount could be fixed on a budgetary basis. Experience shows this requires trained workers.

4. No standards for personnel are established in the acts, for either the state or counties, nor is the state given any direct authority to approve or disapprove persons employed by the county committees. How, for example, a child welfare program can be operated if a county committee refuses to employ competent help has yet to be determined.

5. The funds permitted for both state and county administration are likely to prove entirely inadequate if satisfactory administration is to be achieved. Fortunately, the provision for administrative expenditures in the counties is such that the county commissioners may provide additional funds where these are available.

6. Certain sections of the laws are difficult, not to say impossible, to administer. The appeal section of each of these acts is unnecessarily cumbersome, as are sections of the acts relative to aid to the blind,⁵⁹ aid to dependent children,⁶⁰ and old age assistance,⁶¹ each of which provides that each applicant for assistance must be approved by the state director of assistance or the director of the Bureau of Child Welfare⁶² before such assistance may be given.

7. Funds are distributed to each county in the proportion which its population bears to the total population of the state as established in the 1930 census, rather than on the basis of need. This provision is a direct result of policies adopted by the first State Assistance Committee. Douglas County best exemplifies the question of need versus population as a basis for allocating funds. This county has had, during the past several months, between 45 and 50 per cent of the total relief load in the state, while its population is but 16.9 per

⁵⁹ *C. S. Supplement, Nebraska, 1935, Appendix, "Acts of 51st [Special] Legislature,"* H.R. 5, sec. 5, p. 538.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, H.R. 19, sec. 16, p. 555.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, H.R. 17, sec. 5, p. 549.

⁶² *Ibid.*, H.R. 19, sec. 12, p. 554. Under the State Emergency Relief Administration there was considerable complaint about the centralization of control. Under the state assistance program, the state directors of assistance and child welfare must approve individual applications in the categories mentioned.

cent of the total population of the state as based on the 1930 census. Under the Assistance Act, Douglas County will receive 16.9 per cent of all the funds available for allotment in all the categories, regardless of the fact that it may have a much greater financial need than other counties in one or more of these categories. Certain counties in the state may not have a single blind person; yet they will receive their proportionate share of the funds available for assistance to the blind, on the basis of their population. Although this provision was made a part of the present law because it was felt by some that the Supreme Court might otherwise declare the Act unconstitutional, no specific ruling was made on this feature of the old Act in the majority opinion of the court.

8. No workmen's unemployment compensation law was passed, so that, although Nebraska employers are compelled to pay the federal tax, no benefits are received by Nebraska employees.

9. There are too many classes excluded from the benefits, and the benefits are uncertain and likely to be inadequate.

Obsolete provisions concerning the responsibility of relatives are retained in the acts. The establishment of arbitrary maximum and minimum benefits makes the laws inflexible and less likely to meet the many problems certain to arise. The provision in each of the acts which requires a proportionate scaling-down of benefits if the funds provided are inadequate makes it uncertain as to what those in need may finally receive. Doubtless, a period of experimentation is highly essential to determine what costs are likely to be; and there is some validity, therefore, in restricting benefits until something more than estimates of costs can be arrived at.

Many other weaknesses might be pointed out in the acts, although it may seem that the criticism already offered is unduly harsh. Final plans have not as yet been announced outlining the details of the organization which is in process of formation, and no criticism of how this organization may administer the laws is intended. Despite the obvious weaknesses in the laws passed, it must be pointed out again that Nebraska has taken a definite step forward in the matter of public welfare because:

1. For the first time, the state has recognized its partial responsibility for assistance to citizens not requiring institutional care.

2. For the first time, state funds have been provided to help the counties bear a part of the financial burden.

3. A beginning toward a state-wide public welfare agency has been made.

4. An excellent experimental period has been started, during which there should certainly be demonstrated the need for a more modern and co-ordinated administrative welfare machine. Furthermore, it is a period during which the public should become more familiar with what "social security" is intended to mean, and only in this way can a better program be developed.

It seems lamentable that the state did not grasp the opportunity to modernize completely its welfare machinery, but this was doubtless too much to expect.

The struggle for such modernization must go on.

NEBRASKA CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
LINCOLN, NEBRASKA

THE PRESENT STATUS OF MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES¹

LOUISE STITT

WITH the Schechter decision of the Supreme Court invalidating the entire code structure of the NRA, the states are faced again with the full responsibility of maintaining adequate wage standards. Nothing could be more indefensible than to permit industry to return to the old cut-throat method of fixing wages, which even in good times too often resulted in reducing earnings of many workers to the sweat-shop level. The situation calls for a review of what has been gained during the two years of the NRA and the present status of minimum wage legislation, together with an analysis of further steps which may be taken by the states to protect wage standards. In this report we shall attempt to deal only with the broader aspects of the situation, although recognizing the necessity for further discussion of techniques of minimum wage administration and policies in wage-setting.

It was to have been expected that women, paid for the most part considerably less than men, and massed heavily in low-wage and long-hour employments, formed a group of workers for whom the setting of nation-wide minimum wage and maximum hour standards by the NRA would bring substantial benefits. Instances continually appear to show the widespread effect of code minima in increasing not only the hourly but also the weekly earnings of large numbers of women who were at the lowest wage levels.

We will mention only a few of the authoritative examples which might be cited. Wage increases under the NRA of from 30 to nearly 60 per cent were shown in the average week's earnings of inside operatives by a survey of the New York dress industry. A state-wide study of employed women in Michigan revealed that for a great majority of the twenty industries studied, average week's earnings increased from 20 to 40 per cent from 1932 to 1934. Further corroboration

¹ This report was prepared by Miss Stitt as chairman of the Committee on Minimum Wage of the International Association of Government Labor Officials for its twenty-first annual meeting, October 1, 1935.

ration is presented in a study of laundries in Ohio in 1933, in which higher earnings were shown in September, when the industry was operating under a blanket code, than in May. And the findings of a study made by the Pennsylvania Bureau of Women and Children of women's earnings in cotton garment plants in 1932 and in the winter and spring of 1934 may be cited as still another example of increased weekly earnings for the majority of workers resulting from the code.

We shall not here discuss the defects which accompanied the development of the NRA codes, the low minimum rates set, the question of determining wages on various differential bases and allowing lower rates for specified groups of workers, and the problem of maintaining higher wages for those not in the lowest paid groups.

For the present we want to point out that available evidence on the effects of the NRA demonstrate the validity of the minimum wage as a means of substantially increasing the pay envelopes of the lowest paid workers. As a result, as women's wages have been raised, the available data show a definite narrowing of the differential between men's and women's wages. The importance of these gains to the many thousands of women affected makes imperative the need of state legislation which will protect and extend them. And it must be pointed out that the road to state legislation has been made smoother by the accomplishments of the NRA in swinging public opinion toward the acceptance of the necessity of uniform, nationwide hour and wage standards.

A revived movement toward minimum wage legislation as a means of stopping the devastating effects of the depression upon women's wages had already gained headway at the time of the enactment of the NRA. Seven states passed minimum wage legislation during their legislative sessions of 1933, bringing the total number of states with such laws up to sixteen—California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin. The Colorado, New Jersey, and Utah laws have remained inoperative, however, through lack of appropriations.

In all states but one, the minimum wage laws are applicable to women and minors of both sexes, though the Minnesota law is held unconstitutional in its application to adult women, and therefore is

in effect only in respect to minors. The South Dakota law covers only women and girls. Although the laws of seven states (including Minnesota) cover all occupations, Wisconsin is the only state to include domestic workers in the rates set, and no state has fixed rates for agricultural workers. New Jersey makes the additional exception of hotel employees.

With the exception of Utah, the minimum wage laws passed in 1933 are essentially the same, patterned on a standard bill, advocated by the National Consumers' League, and drafted by experts in an effort to meet the objections of a majority of the United States Supreme Court to the District of Columbia law in 1923. They apply to women and minor employees, and are broad in scope. They provide that when a substantial number of women or minors in any occupation are receiving oppressive and unreasonable wages, a wage board, composed of representatives of employees, employers, and the public, shall be appointed to determine and recommend a wage fairly and reasonably commensurate with the value of the services rendered. An "oppressive and unreasonable wage" is defined as a wage both less than the fair and reasonable value of the services rendered and less than sufficient to meet the minimum cost of living necessary for health. Following public hearings, the industrial commissioner may put the recommended minimum rates into effect. For a specified period of time, the order setting the minimum rate is directory only, that is, the only penalty for noncompliance is newspaper publicity. After the trial period, if nonobservance of the directory order is so persistent as to threaten the maintenance of minimum fair-wage standards, the commissioner, after a public hearing, may make the order mandatory and thereafter subject to fine or imprisonment for violation.

Although great stress was laid by far-sighted leaders on the fact that the NRA was temporary, and the urgency of supplementing, underpinning, and, in some cases, raising through state legislation the wage rates set by the NRA was emphasized, little new minimum wage legislation has been passed since 1933. Massachusetts, however, whose law had been nonmandatory, relying on public opinion for its enforcement, passed a mandatory law in 1934, and in 1935 amended it so as to aid in bringing the existing nonmandatory minimum wage decrees under the mandatory law. Moreover, Illinois'

law, which was enacted in 1933 for a period of two years, was made permanent in 1935.

The slowness of other states in enacting minimum wage laws was undoubtedly due to a great extent to the fact that the decision declaring the NRA unconstitutional was not made until the close of the state legislative sessions, too late for realization of the urgent need for immediate action. It should be pointed out, moreover, that in at least eight states sponsors of minimum wage laws succeeded in having such bills introduced, although not passed during the 1935 legislative sessions.

In Michigan the minimum wage bill was passed by the House, but failed to pass the Senate; while in Pennsylvania, bills originating in both the Senate and the House passed in their respective bodies, but each failed of passage in the other legislative branch. In Maryland a bill introduced in the House was reported upon favorably in the committee to which it was referred but failed to pass the House. The standard minimum wage bill took its place on the calendar of the Florida Senate, but did not come to a vote. And in Arizona, Kansas, Montana, and Texas minimum wage bills were introduced in either the House or Senate, but not acted upon favorably.

Very substantial progress, however, may be reported in the setting of minimum wage rates. All the new minimum wage states (except Utah and New Jersey, where the laws were not operative for lack of appropriations) have at least set directory minimum wage orders in some industry. New York led the way with a directory order later made mandatory in the laundry industry. Ohio has set mandatory minimum wage rates in the laundry and in the cleaning and dyeing industries. Directory orders have been set by Illinois in the macaroni, spaghetti, and noodle industry; by New Hampshire in the laundry industry; and by Connecticut in the lace homework industry. In addition, minimum wage boards have been called and recommendations are under consideration in Massachusetts for the laundry and dry-cleaning industry; in Illinois for the laundry and for the beauty shop industries; and in New York for the hotel and restaurant industry.²

² Since this article was written the situation in relation to minimum wage orders issued by the states has changed. The present status is as follows: Directory minimum wage orders have been issued since October, 1935, for the laundry and beauty-shop industries in Illinois; and for the laundry and dry-cleaning industry in Massa-

Of the older minimum wage states, Oregon has issued new minimum wage orders since early in 1934. In Oregon the new orders issued for the needlecraft and laundry and cleaning and dyeing occupations are particularly significant and worthy of attention, because while the hours which may be worked by women in these industries are reduced from forty-eight to forty-four a week, a minimum hourly wage is set which will provide the same weekly wage as prevailed before the reduction in weekly hours. For mercantile occupations an order of 1934 provides, instead of a weekly minimum wage, an hourly rate, thereby increasing the weekly minimum wage for full-time workers. In Wisconsin, as usual, the orders for women working in canneries were renewed. North Dakota is an example of one of the older minimum wage states which have recently renewed their efforts to make their long-existing wage orders more effective. In California the orders for the manufacturing and laundry and dry-cleaning industries, providing \$16 for the standard week's work, were modified in 1934 by action of the Industrial Welfare Commission to require only hourly rates—33 $\frac{1}{3}$ cents for a full day of eight hours, 40 cents for less than eight hours. A forty-hour week, worked on an eight-hour-day basis, or a forty-four-hour week, therefore, would result in week's earnings considerably less than the former \$16 minimum.

In evaluating the new minimum wage orders, particularly those in states with more recent legislation, it must be pointed out that the industries covered are those employing large numbers of women, and in which wage standards have been so depressed that the most meager earnings prevailed. Such an industry is the laundry industry, for which the greatest number of states have taken minimum wage action. In addition to the mandatory orders in effect in New York and Ohio and the directory order of New Hampshire, Massachusetts selected laundry and dry cleaning as the first industry to be investigated under her new mandatory law, and a wage board has made recommendations for wage rates for the industry. Illinois also has made recommendations for this industry, and Connecticut has completed a survey as a preliminary step to setting wage rates.

chusetts. The recommendations of the hotel and restaurant wage board of New York State have been approved by the commissioner of labor of that state, and will soon become effective, while wage boards have been appointed to consider wages for the same industries in Ohio and New Hampshire.

Striking testimony of the extremely low wages which prevailed in laundries and the effectiveness of minimum wage orders in enlarging the pay envelope of women workers is presented in surveys made by these states. A study in New York State by the Division of Women in Industry and Minimum Wage, indicated marked increases in earnings between May and November, 1933. The order stipulated that in New York City area not less than \$12.40 be paid for a forty-hour week, and outside of this area not less than \$11 for a week of such length. Findings of the New York study show that the median of week's earnings of women and minors in Greater New York, where sweat-shop conditions were most prevalent, had increased by \$1.77, from \$10.77 in May to \$12.54 in November, and in the remainder of the state by \$1.12, from \$9.82 in May to \$10.95 in November. The average week's hours worked had been shortened from 45 to 41.1 in the former case, and from 42.5 to 37.9 in the latter. The study also points out that there has been no tendency for the minimum wage to become the maximum wage.

In New Hampshire, also, comparison of the wages women were earning in laundries before and after the wage order shows a distinct advance in hourly rates and an increase in weekly earnings. The New Hampshire minimum rates were set at 28 cents an hour for thirty or more hours a week, and a higher rate—30 cents an hour—for less than thirty hours a week. After the order went into effect, average hourly rates in commercial laundries increased from 27 to 31 cents, and average weekly earnings for these laundries from \$10.20 to \$11.33. As in New York, the New Hampshire Minimum Wage Division reports that there has been no tendency for the minimum to become the maximum wage. Rather, while before the order only 24 per cent of the employees earned \$13 or more a week, after the order the percentage earning that amount had increased to 47 per cent. Moreover, the state reports that the setting of higher rates for a short work week has resulted in much greater regularity of employment for women formerly working on a part-time basis.

In Ohio, surveys show that the minimum wage set at 27½ cents an hour resulted in an increase in the median weekly wage of over a fifth, from \$8.80 to \$10.61. And in Illinois, whose recommendations for this industry follow New York's, New Hampshire's, and Ohio's example in setting higher hourly wage rates for part-time workers,

preliminary surveys indicate that substantial wage increases will result when the wage rate is put into effect.

Another industry in which there is much hope for great gains to be made through minimum wage legislation is that of hotel and restaurants. Like the laundries, this is one of the industries in which, because of the low code wage rates, the workers benefited the least from the NRA and in which large numbers of women are employed. A survey made by New York state showed the most chaotic conditions prevailing, with a complete lack of uniformity in the matter of pay, of hours, or of deductions for meals and lodgings. Median earnings of women were extremely low—\$8.98 in New York City and \$7.84 for those in other localities. The recommendations for the industry made by the New York wage board would materially improve the working conditions of the women employed in this industry, not only by increasing the wage rates and regulating hours by requiring pay for time spent on the premises, but by prohibiting one of the greatest abuses of the industry—that of deducting from the workers' meager earnings sums for meals, uniforms, and laundry. If the recommendations of this board are finally established, a landmark for the workers in the industry will have been reached. Steps toward setting minimum rates in this industry are also being taken by New Hampshire and Connecticut, and a study of hotels and restaurants has been made by Ohio.

Further figures might be presented showing the wage increase following minimum wage orders in the macaroni, spaghetti, and noodle industry in Illinois, in the cleaning and dyeing industry in Ohio, and in homework in the lace industry in Connecticut. But in summary, it can be said that all available evidence points to real gains in raising the wages of the lowest paid workers in the industries covered by the states that have taken minimum wage action, and indicates the immediate need for similar action by other states.

The unconstitutionality of certain provisions in the NRA codes again brings to the fore the problem of securing uniform wage standards among the states. The NRA conclusively demonstrated the value of nation-wide regulations in reducing unscrupulous competition between employers in states with differing legal restrictions controlling employment conditions. This competition and the activity of some employers to prevent regulation of working conditions in

their states have been the greatest obstacle in the path of minimum wage legislation.

In this respect, the attempt by seven northeastern states in the spring of 1934 to effect an interstate compact on minimum wage assumes great importance. It is by such voluntary agreements by the states, particularly those competing with each other to maintain similar wage and hour standards, that progress must be made in the immediate future toward securing uniform progressive legislation among the states. The signers of this compact—Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island—have taken the pioneer step in this direction. Today the compact has been ratified by Massachusetts and New Hampshire, each of which states has appointed an Interstate Compact Commission. It is hoped that the example of these two states will soon be followed by the legislatures of the remaining five states, whose representatives have signed the compact.

Other moves toward securing uniform progressive state labor legislation may be seen in the creation by the New York legislature of a commission to report on advantages and disadvantages of interstate industrial compacts, and the appointment in New Jersey of a commission on interstate co-operation.

In closing this report on minimum wage legislation and looking toward the future, we should like to emphasize a further objective, realized temporarily during our two years' experience with the NRA. For the first time in the United States legal minimum rates were set for men as well as women. In approximately three-fourths of the codes these minimum rates were identical. Because of the constitutional problems involved, and because women constitute a particularly oppressed and underpaid group in industry, efforts in the past have centered around insuring minimum wages for women. If, however, all possibility of the lowering of wages to an oppressive level is to be abolished, it is necessary, and our objective must be, to establish minimum rates for all workers, men and women alike. Only in this way can a level be successfully set below which no wages will fall and the greatest advantages through minimum wage legislation be realized in protection of the workers, the community, and industry.

FEDERAL TAXATION OF CORPORATION GIFTS
TO PRIVATE CHARITIES: A SUMMARY
OF THE DISCUSSIONS OF 1935

J. PRENTICE MURPHY

DURING the summer months there was a nation-wide discussion of the question of whether gifts, and especially gifts by corporations, to private charity should be exempt from the federal income tax. Corporation giving to private social work received its big impetus during the great national campaigns beginning in 1917 for the support of private welfare activities, especially those serving enlisted men in the army and navy and also their families. During the decade from 1920 to 1930 various community chests or funds in many centers greatly increased their total receipts through large sums collected from corporations and their employees. At the same time, large gifts were being solicited from private individuals.

In the estimation of many thoughtful observers, there was very little difference between large contributions from individuals and from corporations. Others have questioned the danger in some of this giving by certain individuals, and in the case of corporations have deplored it without exception. Some of the criticisms of the latter type of giving and some of the expressions of approval show lack of understanding of a number of the fundamental issues involved.

There are those who question much of the financial support coming to private charitable agencies. Some of these critics hold that with few exceptions social work is a public rather than a private function. They recognize that certain welfare activities are considered by powerful religious groups to be an integral part of their work. Many other persons accept the *status quo* and foresee no immediate change. With the beginning of the depression, the financial receipts of private agencies have been affected in various ways. Payments from clients or patients have dropped to very low levels. Endowment funds have been subjected to various pressures. They have been drawn upon to meet operating deficits; there has been an outright loss or shrinkage

in capital funds due to the general losses sustained by everyone as a result of industrial stagnation and other reasons, and dividends and interest have declined.

Over a long period of years prior to 1930, legacies and bequests to all types of welfare activities in the United States were on a large and rapidly ascending scale. The general reduction in the value of the national wealth has been reflected in greatly reduced private individual capital reserves. This is evidenced in part by widespread falling-off in gifts by will, restricted and unrestricted, to private charities. In addition, private contributions have fallen off greatly. It is understood that approximately one-third of the annual support of hospitals, for example, is in the form of contributions from private individuals made either directly to the hospitals or through joint charitable fund-raising organizations. As other forms of support tended to diminish in volume, the importance of private annual contributions has been emphasized.

Private individuals within limits have the right to make gifts to private welfare activities free from federal income taxes. For a long period, beginning with the war, corporation gifts for like purposes were sometimes permitted, and sometimes not, as part of their expenses. Since the beginning of the depression, and particularly during the last two or three years, the legality of such contributions from corporations has been questioned in the federal courts. Community Chests and Councils, Inc., has been the outstanding national agency giving consideration to this whole matter in terms of its effects on the support of private social work. The individual members of this organization are four hundred and more community chests and funds scattered over the United States. In the consideration of federal tax legislation at Washington, Community Chests and Councils sought tax exemption for corporation gifts.

As part of an educational campaign, and with a view to influencing members of Congress, community chests throughout the country were acquainted with the proposals made at Washington and requested to urge the exemption on certain important committee members and also on their own senators and representatives. The response, in the form of letters and telegrams, was widespread. In community after community the presidents and other board members of

many agencies, members of the local chests, wrote to Washington. The specific request was that corporations be permitted to contribute to welfare organizations, free of the federal corporation income tax, up to 5 per cent of their incomes. It has been known that the Secretary of the Treasury did not favor the exemption. Federal expenditures for welfare purposes, particularly with regard to unemployment relief, have, of course, laid very heavy demands on the federal treasury. Many important leaders in private social work have been strong advocates of such federal expenditures.

The whole matter took a sudden and somewhat dramatic form when the President expressed himself in opposition to the exemption provision when applied to corporations and also to all corporation gifts to private charities. He declared with regard to the latter point that the individual stockholders, rather than the corporation as an entity, should make such contributions. There seemed very grave danger that in view of the President's position the exemption would not be allowed by Congress.

Newton D. Baker appeared before the Senate Finance Committee as a representative of a number of important national and some local private welfare organizations, in support of the exemption. His testimony appears in full in the Senate Finance Committee's printed report on this hearing. He emphasized a number of well-known points. Under questioning he said that he felt that the exemption of 5 per cent could be dropped to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent without any inconvenience or loss. He knew of no corporation making a gift, or gifts, of 5 per cent of their net income for welfare purposes. In the overwhelming number of cases, individual corporation gifts, even when they ran into large figures, were still much below the 5 per cent figure. He stressed the place of private social work in the whole scheme of social welfare services. He instanced the individual services of private agencies having real values in their communities in keeping up morale and in making more efficient the work of federal unemployment relief. His testimony should be read in full.

The President's position on the two points referred to above stirred up a great deal of apprehension and opposition. He undoubtedly had thought his position through more carefully than some of his critics credited him with having done.

At the time of the hearing, when Mr. Baker spoke, it was then pretty definitely known that the President, while not retracting his statement, would not press it before Congress. A great many persons, while agreeing with him on the question of the tax-exemption feature, differed strenuously as to the principle involved in corporation giving. They held that under our present system corporation gifts, under proper conditions, were no more to be questioned than large gifts from private individuals. It was generally agreed that if corporation giving should cease by whatever manner, there was not the slightest probability that the total of such gifts would be made up by private contributions by individual stockholders. At best the returns would be very meager. While undoubtedly some corporations might contribute to private welfare agencies with the idea of influencing local public opinion, it is generally agreed that this is a negligible influence in such giving. So common has corporation giving become that instead of purchasing good-will as the President alleged, it was the other way around. A corporation purchased ill-will when it did not give.

The new federal tax law carries with it the exemption provision. The question will of a certainty be raised again in the future when other federal tax legislation is under consideration. No one questions the necessity of the federal government having to raise large sums to finance its own welfare operations. The sum of approximately \$100,000,000 is raised annually through various private joint financing organizations throughout the country. About a fourth of this amount is contributed by corporations. Recent information shows that many corporation gifts are now made without recourse to the exemption feature. Further information shows that in one community after another the losses caused by decreased gifts from private individuals have been balanced by larger gifts from corporations. But for this fact the services of private welfare agencies would have been further crippled. The fact that gifts of \$5,000 and over to community chests have been greater every year since 1929 than in that year is due largely to corporation giving. Nevertheless, as is generally known, the services of private agencies in many communities have been seriously curtailed in recent years.

It is a matter of common experience that corporation gifts are not

easy to secure. Long and arduous educational campaigns have been necessary. Many important leaders in private social work hold that the publicity given to the President's position with regard to corporation gifts, both as to their legality and as to their desirability, will tend to diminish the volume of such gifts during the 1935 financial campaigns. In some communities it may be necessary to begin anew an educational campaign. Other leaders are more optimistic about the continuance of such gifts.

The federal government, through its various appropriations for welfare work for those in distress, has at every turn guarded against subsidizing private agencies. The total volume of work done by private welfare agencies, especially along lines of hospital and health work, child-caring, community, recreational, and neighborhood or settlement work, as well as the qualitative work of many leading family agencies, is entirely in addition to the federal program. Anything which would arbitrarily and hurriedly deprive these agencies of their support would leave them high and dry, resulting in a quick closing-up of many. Certainly, there would be an immediate curtailment of services. Nothing as announced in the federal program gives the slightest indication that any plans are under consideration for the taking-over by Washington of such activities. On the contrary, the policy of the federal government is to withdraw as speedily as possible from the relief field. Federal aid is to be in the form of jobs through WPA. The exceptions in the federal relief program are chiefly the grants-in-aid for the assistance of certain groups under the Social Security Law. Owing to the failure of the passage of the third deficiency bill, the operation of this part of the program was delayed until the session of Congress beginning in January, 1936, could take action. It is the plan of Washington to force back on the states, and thus upon localities, the burden of the care of all those in need who do not come within strictly interpreted categories. Hence the burdens on local agencies are bound to increase.

Because of questions raised in Washington with regard to the origin of the pressure for the tax-exemption feature, it was felt by many executives of national and local agencies outside the community-chest group that it would be well for some of them to confer with leaders in Washington, like Senator Costigan and Senator La-

Follette, who had long been interested in the relief program. Accordingly, a request was sent to both senators for a conference with them in Washington on August 13. At the last minute Senator LaFollette was called to the White House and hence could not meet with the group. Senator Costigan, Josephine Roche (assistant secretary of the treasury), and in addition the following social workers were present: Jane M. Hoey, Mary L. Gibbons, Solomon Lowenstein, Walter M. West, C. C. Carstens, and Edward D. Lynde, all of New York; Samuel Goldsmith and Joel D. Hunter, of Chicago; Malcolm S. Nichols, of Boston; and Betsey Libbey and J. Prentice Murphy, of Philadelphia. In addition, Allen T. Burns, of New York, representing the Community Chests and Councils, sat in so that the group might have available factual information, as he is an outstanding authority on the subject. In advance of the meeting there had been prepared a somewhat elastic program featuring the most important questions involved in the issues raised.

Senator Costigan led off with a brief statement to the effect that it was not necessary to present him with the factual or other arguments seeking to prove the place and importance of private welfare agencies at this time. Nor was it necessary to consider any further steps with regard to insuring the enactment in the tax bill of the exemption feature. This had been agreed to and would be made part of the law. He felt that the occasion of the conference should be taken as an opportunity to consider some of the more important long-range points involved in questions such as these: What are the trends and where are the proper dividing lines between public and private welfare agencies? Assuming for the time being that such gifts are made strictly in compliance with the law, what are the real arguments in favor of such gifts? After all, of what value is the exemption feature in securing corporation gifts? What bearing did corporation gifts have upon the giving of employees?

Miss Roche raised several leading questions as to the pressure methods used in certain communities in connection with employee giving. She stated quite frankly, at the beginning of the discussion, that she personally was opposed to corporation gifts being tax-exempt. With regard to contributions from employees, Mr. Burns reported the names of a number of leading national corporations

which, beginning with this year, will leave to their workers the entire responsibility for securing and making their gifts to local charities. These corporations will separate themselves entirely from any responsibility for what is done in the solicitation and collection of gifts from employees. This policy has been adopted because of the payroll deduction required by the Social Security Bill. This undoubtedly will become a general procedure in industry with regard to such gifts. It was made clear that even in the absence of anything like the use of pressure methods the failure of corporations to give would have immediate effects on the extent of employee giving.

Mr. Carstens began with the observation that there is a general trend from private to public services in the child-caring field. This has been a matter of orderly development. Private agencies have, and are, exerting important influence in setting up standards for public service, training for leadership in this field, and in determining the proper speed at which the shift should take place. Anything which would destroy or confuse the work of the private agencies at this time would have very serious effects on public child welfare, both now and in the future.

Mr. Lowenstein saw a very large portion of what is now private social work being transferred to the public welfare services. He recognized that there would always be some private social work. His gravest concern was as to the dangers attending a hurried and unplanned termination of the private field, with so much in the dark as to when and how federal departments and other public agencies could and would take over immediately a new set of responsibilities. The combined burdens of tax-supported public and privately supported agencies were leading some private contributors to emphasize tax-supported work to the exclusion of private services which they had formerly helped to finance. We are faced by adjustments for which sufficient time is needed if they are to be wise and essential.

Miss Gibbons and Miss Hoey emphasized the continued importance of well-conducted private agencies. They freely conceded the force of the questions raised by Senator Costigan and Miss Roche, and agreed that within certain lines a very heavy share of social work must be on a public basis. Any sudden jeopardizing of the support of essential private work, they felt, would react on public serv-

ices. Miss Hoey, however, stated that she would not go as far as Mr. Lowenstein in his larger emphasis on taxation as a means of social-work support. Miss Hoey also noted the fact, as did others, that corporation gifts are made because their employees and the families of their employees get service and other benefits from local social and health agencies.

Mr. Lynde approached the discussion from the standpoint of the private family welfare agencies. The extent and range of federal and state unemployment relief expenditures have raised many questions as to the status of private family welfare agencies. Unemployment relief, of necessity, has had to be on a wholesale basis. The next steps in a vast readjustment of such relief services will require a continuance of the training of workers and a holding-up of standards. Wholesale or mass relief makes it impossible to give many families those qualitative services that families and individuals will need if they are to be helped to make, with success, certain necessary adjustments.

Mr. Hunter and Mr. Goldsmith emphasized their position in terms of Chicago. The situation there is typical of other areas in the extent of important private services which are not going to be financed out of federal or state funds. They offered some significant examples of the kinds of community services rendered by social agencies and for which corporations could be said to contribute, on both social and legal grounds. They pointed out, for example, the well-co-ordinated hospital and health facilities of Chicago now used by corporations. In Chicago, it is corporation giving which has filled in the gaps due to losses in receipts from individual givers. There were grave dangers in any hurried shift of burdens, but they recognized certain of the inevitable long-time trends.

Malcolm Nichols, in giving the Boston setting, said that Massachusetts has for a number of years had an unusually strong and extensive system of public welfare services. In spite of these, and also of federal assistance for unemployment relief, the place of private agencies for a long time to come must be widely accepted. He pointed out, as did others, that certain corporations operate in communities where there are few or no public or private welfare agencies,

and that without their support the former could not be effective. Yet these same corporations were faced with the handling of social problems often of a highly technical nature concerning the well-being of workers and their families. As in the case of Chicago and other cities represented, it would be a highly uneconomical plan for industrial concerns to set up, for example, their own hospital services. Beyond certain emergency health resources, all the interested parties gain from a use of generally supported community hospital and health services.

Mr. West raised certain leading questions much along the line of some raised by Senator Costigan as to the continued desirability of social agencies seeking that which is a special subsidy in terms of the tax-exemption feature covering corporation gifts. He felt it was necessary for all of us to do a lot of fundamental thinking as to where private and public social work should begin and end. He was fearful of some of the resistances within the private field. Behind the questions raised in the whole discussion one must keep in mind the new emphasis on prevention of social distress through governmental as well as private activities and also the spreading program of social insurance, all of which will call for new alignments for private social work.

Mr. Murphy, in addition to leading off with a general statement as to some of the things we sought in the conference, put from time to time certain leading questions to each of the conferring social workers. He stated that it was clear, from the points made by those present, that there was a realization of the principles involved and that there was great harmony of thinking on the part of the agency representatives with the general position as indicated by Senator Costigan and Assistant Secretary Roche in their statements and questions. This meeting was undoubtedly destined to be viewed as one having great historic importance. The hope was expressed that the discussion should be reported upon immediately to the membership of the organizations represented. It was made clear that the evils in some of the pressure methods used in securing employee giving were thoroughly disapproved. Social work should not have to depend on support so secured. It is undoubtedly true that more times than we

realize some of our support as private agencies carries with it grave implications. It is also a matter of record that many thoughtful persons have not been sufficiently recognized when they have spoken in support of the arguments favoring a public rather than a private set-up for certain welfare activities.

Miss Libbey expressed herself as in entire sympathy with the point of view presented by Senator Costigan and Miss Roche. Certain trends in social work are inescapable, even if we desired to prevent them. Recognition of the former might lead to better planning and guidance by social welfare leaders. Beyond question, there had to be a large and increasing measure of public responsibility in the field of social welfare. But in accepting this point of view, she saw a continuing place for private social work alongside of public social work, each helping in the working-out of their own special functions. What we all should prefer to see was an orderly evolutionary development rather than an immediate revolutionary chaotic change. In the consideration of new social processes, we preferred the gradual evolutionary method.

Both Senator Costigan and Assistant Secretary Roche expressed their appreciation of the opportunity to confer with the agency representatives. There was an unusual meeting of minds throughout the whole conference. With regard to exemptions covering charitable contributions, it was Mr. Burns, at the 1917 National Conference of Social Work, who opposed social-work advocacy of such. Senator Costigan and Assistant Secretary Roche, in the earlier part of the discussion, questioned the ethics of the exemption feature covering individual gifts; but said that in their own support of private social work they have never claimed an exemption. Senator Costigan agreed to report to Senator LaFollette on the meeting.

Subsequent to the meeting Senator LaFollette wrote a very cordial letter expressing his regret at not being able to get to the meeting because of a sudden call to the White House. He said he would see Senator Costigan and learn what had happened.

For the future, there is the importance of clear thinking as to the relative fields of public and private effort in view of the dominating influence of the federal government now and for a long time to come.

The occasion may arise when, under the leadership of men like Senator Costigan, Senator LaFollette, Senator Wagner, and others, we might seek a further exploration of the subject to formulate other plans and procedure for the future. Government on a "grand" scale is in social work to stay. We cannot ignore the efforts of the new federal tax measures on contributions from persons having large incomes. Many of these in the past, however, have given comparatively small sums to private agencies. The generous private supporters are in many instances unable to give the amounts they did in the past. As a result, gifts of \$500 to \$1,000 have been a greater strain in recent years than far larger sums were a few years ago. Truly, the financing of private social work does not get any easier.

CHILDREN'S BUREAU
PHILADELPHIA

NOTES AND COMMENT

PRENTICE MURPHY LEAVES US

J. PRENTICE MURPHY'S sudden death of pneumonia on February 2 came as a great shock to social workers everywhere. For Philadelphia and Pennsylvania children the loss is perhaps most serious because he was executive secretary of the Children's Bureau and of the Seybert Institution of Philadelphia and active in all social-reform movements in the state. But he was a national leader also—president from 1932 to 1934 of the Child Welfare League of America and president-elect of the National Conference of Social Work. He was fifty-four years of age and was just entering upon the period of his greatest usefulness for which long years of service had prepared him.

Mr. Murphy was greatly beloved by those who knew him. He was the spiritual leader, the social conscience, on whom many had come to rely. He had no narrow outlook on social service. He was never satisfied with treatment alone but always sought and urged others to seek the causes of our social maladjustment and support what they found to be appropriate remedies with honesty and courage. No one will take his place for those who worked with him. To the end the United States Children's Bureau, the Children's Bureau in Philadelphia, and agencies for children in every part of the country will miss his counsel and constructive leadership. But in the long struggle for equality of opportunity for children Prentice Murphy's spirit will live.

THE DELEGATE CONFERENCE DEMANDS GRANTS-IN-AID

FOR three days, February 14-16, the Third Delegate Conference of the American Association of Social Workers discussed the relief crisis created by the withdrawal of federal contributions for relief and the turning-back to the local communities of large numbers of men and women able to work for whom WPA jobs have not been provided, as well as others not able to work, or those whose employment is considered socially undesirable. The testimony presented showed that in most parts of the country the local communities were unable to assume this load and there

was once more widespread suffering. The conference demand for federal grants-in-aid for home assistance was unanimous. So also was the recommendation that the federal government should resume the care of the transients.

As grants-in-aid were recommended as a continuing policy, the Conference concluded that the administration of relief funds should be lodged with a permanent department such as the Department of Labor or a permanent board such as the Security Board. The National Division on Government and Social Work of the Association will try to secure legislation along these lines.

There is in Washington, however, little appreciation of what is happening to relief families, and it is in consequence very important for social workers to let their congressmen and senators know of the adequacy or inadequacy of present relief policies.

WEST VIRGINIA'S "BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA"

GAULEY BRIDGE has become to Americans the symbol of appalling indifference to the safety of the workers. Its junior senator, Rush Holt, has given it the name with which we head this article.

Here in central West Virginia, some six years ago, the Rinehart & Dennis Construction Company began to build the Hawk's Nest Tunnel to divert the waters of the New River for a power subsidiary of the Union Carbide and Carbon Corporation. Yesterday only a few knew anything about what was a local power development; but today every reader of the newspapers in almost the whole of the civilized world knows that the dust in this tunnel had an extraordinary high free silica content, that masks were not provided for the workers, or the dust kept down by sprinkling, with the result that a number, reported to be from several hundred to all the two thousand workers, are dead or dying from silicosis.

The *Nation*, for February 5, reprints under the title "Silicosis Village" a memorandum on conditions in Vanetta, a village near Gauley Bridge, which was filed by Leon Brower on July 19, 1934, when he was statistician for the West Virginia N.R.A. This memorandum was first made public when, according to the *Nation*, it was read into the hearings of a Congressional subcommittee on January 21, 1936, by Congressman Marcantonio. and is for several reasons of special interest to social workers. Mr. Brower is a social worker who received his M.A. Degree at the School of Social Service of the University of Chicago. Another social worker, Philippa Allen, also from the Chicago School and on the staff of the Friends Serv-

ice Committee in West Virginia, was one of the principal witnesses at the Congressional Hearing.

Vanetta is a village where coal mines were closed down in recent years. In this ghost town the Negroes, brought up from the far South to work in the drilling of the tunnel, were settled. With that work completed in 1932, it again became a town of almost universal destitution. According to the *Nation*:

In 1934 there were ninety-one persons in residence, occupying sixty-one tumble-down hovels—fourteen children, thirty-four adult females, and forty-three adult males. Of the latter, all but ten have silicosis. Support for the community comes from the earnings of fifteen of the males, fourteen of whom suffer from silicosis. Thirteen are engaged on a road-construction project eighteen miles away and are forced to walk to and from work, leaving them but five hours a day for labor. Moreover, many, because of their illness, must lay off work every other day and are frequently too weak to lift a sledge hammer.

The *Nation* quotes the following from Leon Brower's memorandum:

Coupled with all these hardships is starvation. Relief has always been spasmodic and irregular, and more irregular than is warranted. Every family related the lack of food, and for days at a time during the last winter, they had nothing to eat. One white person living in Vanetta kept many from starving. Many of the Negroes went to Gauley and begged for food and work. Several white people in Gauley contributed regularly to the support of some families. Clothing was always inadequate, and there were numerous cases of slightly frozen limbs; also several families were evicted during winter, and nearly every family was served with eviction notices.

Before coming to the community, the people were accustomed to three meals a day. During the last two winters, if they had one meal a day they considered themselves fortunate. The food consisted of white and red beans, corn bread, and syrup. Occasionally they had some sow-belly "white meat"—that is, cheap white pork. No variety existed even for the sick or the children. Milk had been unheard of for at least two years.

Several men gathered in a group related how at first the elder folks would economize on food so that the children could have more. And then the men would cut their allowance to practically nothing so that the women could eat. Direct relief was seldom given. Many families received commodities, but very irregularly. Just three men were given CWA work, and these three worked a few weeks only. The relief office is fourteen miles from the community. These people would get up at four o'clock and trudge through the heavy snow to the office, inadequately clothed and hungry. Too often they found that the relief agency was in no position to give assistance.

Mr. Brower makes the following recommendations concerning rehabilitation of these destitute Negroes:

Since those persons are not normally unemployed employables, they will not remain under the FERA. But for the time being the position of the W.V.R.A. in dealing with all persons having silicosis should be as follows:

1. To discourage any person from work if the medical problem indicates the necessity.

2. To provide for all in need by direct relief. The relief should be adequate despite the protests of the white people.

3. To improve the housing and sanitation programs immediately. A public-health nurse should spend a considerable amount of time in Vanetta.

If these people desire to return home, they should be assisted, probably by the Transient Bureau. Since these men have a short period to live, as much security as possible should be provided for them. A trained qualified worker should be in this community to assist in the transportation and to arrange intercommunity contact.

At any rate, it is inadvisable, socially, to keep a community of dying persons intact. Every means should be exerted to move these families, so that they may be in communities where they will be accepted, and where the wives and children will find adjustment easier.

According to one labor paper:

The workers didn't know what silicosis was: they called it "tunnelitis." Company doctors gave them little black pills for a remedy.

Officers, however, were better informed. *No manager or director ventured near the place without a protective mask.*

Workers were permitted to buy masks out of their 20 cents an hour if they wished to, but few of them could afford it. . . .

The dust soon reaped its dreadful harvest. Before the first winter had passed, seventy men had died. Nineteen died in one day. At one time the company was so embarrassed by the number of working class corpses that it made a contract with a local undertaker, who dumped 169 bodies in trucks, hauled them forty miles away into a neighboring county, and buried them in a cornfield. . . .

Many families pressed suits against the company. A few got damages. One widow got \$476, "the value of her husband to the company," others got as much as \$1,000.

The Union Carbide and Chemical Company cannot escape moral responsibility for the tragic indifference of the construction company to the safety of their employees. The state of West Virginia cannot escape its responsibility for this disgrace. Occupational diseases are not covered by the state's workmen's compensation. Damages must be sought by uncer-

tain suits at common law under employers' liability. The statute of limitations will defeat many claims. Lack of money or lawyers to prosecute have defeated others. West Virginia has not only neglected to provide compensation for silicosis and other diseases that are contracted in employment, it has not protected its workers against disease by adequately enforced labor laws. Stories of a look-out maintained at Gauley Bridge to warn the foreman that mining inspectors were coming do not reflect credit on the company nor on the inspection service.

West Virginia has been the scene of bloody conflicts in recent years between employers and employees. State officials have, the workers maintain, often given aid and comfort to the employers. Its mining towns were hungry villages even before the depression began, and the extent of malnutrition among the children was almost unbelievable when the Friends began school feeding in the autumn of 1931. West Virginia may say with the construction and power company that conditions have been exaggerated. Doubtless some of the Negro workers may be dead or dying from some other cause than silicosis. With so many doomed by that cause, it is to be expected that other deaths will be ascribed to it.

Like coal-mine explosions, the death toll of these dramatic occurrences is less than the day-by-day deaths, a few here and a few there, year after year. But Gauley Bridge is a warning to West Virginia and other states as the Triangle Fire in New York was some twenty years ago.

The compensation laws of only six states—California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, North Dakota, and Wisconsin—and of Hawaii and the Philippines and the United States provide complete coverage for occupational disease. New York got on this honor roll only last year. Illinois,¹ Kentucky, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, and Porto Rico include a list of industrial diseases, but not one of the latter provides compensation for silicosis. Missouri has a law said to have been secured by the employers permitting coverage of occupational disease under the workmen's compensation laws by mutual consent of employer and employee, which cannot be expected to give adequate protection. In recent years bills have been proposed to include the dust diseases, but failed of passage in Michigan, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New Hampshire, and West Virginia. Bills providing complete coverage instead of a schedule list have also been unsuccessfully pressed in Minnesota and Ohio. Vermont, where silicosis is a frequent cause of death among marble-cutters, does nothing about it because the workers have always died from it. Gauley Bridge should make it possible to pass laws providing unlimited coverage in every state whose

¹ Illinois passed a similar law February 27, 1936.

legislature meets this year or next. Social workers were active in the support of workmen's compensation twenty-five years ago. They should be today.

FAREWELL TO FERA

SOcial workers have come finally face to face with the bitter truth that the great program of federal aid for home assistance has come to an end. FERA has gone, and no permanent public assistance program has taken its place. We have said farewell to FERA and are stretching the meager resources of our local and state relief agencies to the breaking-point, while every effort is made to get a new grant-in-aid for home relief. In the meantime, it is well to review some of the results of the FERA experience as an administrative agency for federal aid.

Under the Relief Act of 1933 many important gains were made, some of which we had hoped could be made permanent and embodied in a long-time public welfare program. What were these gains? First, there was a general lifting of the standards of relief in all parts of the country. Second, a great improvement in the care of transient and homeless single men and women. Third, rents were paid, and there were more funds for medical care. Fourth, there was great improvement in the social work staff, so that service as well as food and clothing went to the destitute. Fifth, work relief improved, there was an end to the old forms of labor at low wages, and a better, although still inadequate, provision for workmen's compensation for work-relief accidents. Sixth, there was a liberal attitude toward relief for strikers' families.

On the other side of the ledger, some account should be taken of the disappointments of the program. In the first place, the federal grants were made on a hand-to-mouth basis. No long-range planning was possible under the 1933 act as it was administered, any more than had been possible under the RFC loans to states for relief provided in the preceding year. No state administrator knew very long ahead how much money he was going to have under the FERA; whether he was going to have as much, or more, or less than he had asked for, or than he had had the month before. He often learned first from the newspapers what grant had been made for his use. Inability to develop state and local resources resulted from this failure to enable the ERA's of the various states to make long-time plans. Second, without a central advisory board of any kind and with the expenditure of huge funds, which rapidly grew from 500 million into billions, entirely at the disposal of, and to be expended according to the judgment of, one official, the Federal Relief Administrator, a responsibility

was placed upon one individual that was greater than any one person could carry satisfactorily. As a result, there were hasty decisions and counter-decisions, orders and counter-orders, and some ill-considered and wasteful developments.

Surplus commodities were often unwisely used, and research expenditures have been extraordinarily large for an emergency administrative agency. Many of its rural relief developments, which took the place of the subsistence homesteads, and which were turned over to the Resettlement Administration, have now been abandoned. Finally, a satisfactory basis for making grants-in-aid was never worked out, and the grants continued to be spasmodic and uncertain, and were apparently the result of chance, luck, or accident, rather than grants on a basis that could be understood and built into a long-time program. The huge work-relief program that finally grew into CWA was hastily developed and then scrapped with equal rapidity, and then re-developed two years later as WPA.

An illustration of the uncertainties of the whole system is found in the statements made about the CWA when the Federal Relief Administrator gave testimony before the Congressional Appropriations Committee on January 30, 1934. The Administrator's account of the beginning of CWA was given to the House Committee on Deficiency Appropriations (*Hearings*, H.R. 7527, 1934):

The President decided to start Civil Works. He told me to put 4,000,000 men to work. We decided to take 2,000,000 from the relief rolls and 2,000,000 from among the self-sustaining unemployed.

I think I should tell you why that action was taken. In the first place, if we decided to take men from the relief rolls only, every unemployed person not on relief would have rushed to get on the relief rolls. Our relief people, being human and being scattered in 3,300 counties, would probably have put a great many persons on the relief rolls so that they could get jobs.

We found in the course of our experience with relief that thousands and tens of thousands of people, no matter how well you try to run an organization, will not go to the relief office and apply for relief. They will rather go without adequate food. They do things we should not ask an American citizen to do because they will not ask for relief, because there has grown up in this country a profound prejudice against relief. It is fine and should be encouraged, but I think no one of us realizes fully how widespread that feeling is and to what extent that prejudice has grown in this country among hundreds of thousands of men. The pain and suffering that has been involved when a man and his wife have to apply for relief is beyond description, and tens of thousands will not do it.

If we had said that only those should be employed on Civil Works who were on the relief rolls, that would have been a slap in the face of thousands of self-

sustaining unemployed—some of the finest people in America who have been fighting this battle through themselves. At any rate, that was the decision—to take care of half of them from the relief rolls and half from the self-sustaining unemployed. . . .

Either the administration was wrong about CWA or it is wrong now about WPA. The change of policy under which only persons on the relief rolls could be put on WPA was a complete reversal of everything that was said about CWA as reported to the House Committee in 1934. FERA was an emergency organization, and quick decisions were often necessary to prevent suffering; but, with an advisory board, some of the confusion and contradictions through which we have been led might have been prevented.

On the whole, however, FERA was responsible for great improvement in the relief program, and the end of the organization has left the relief situation in many sections of the country in a condition approximating that of 1931-32. A new bureau of federal home assistance must be the next step.

HOPE FOR A NEW HOUSING PROGRAM

SENATOR WAGNER'S new housing bill has not yet been introduced as the *Review* goes to press. But social workers may rest assured that Senator Wagner, who has been keenly interested in housing reform, is greatly concerned to get a permanent public housing program under way. He is one of the ablest and most successful of the friends of social welfare in the present Congress, and will give us the best housing bill that the present Congress will let us have.

It is important that social workers should be prepared to follow the course of this bill, that they should write Senator Wagner for a copy of it, and get their representatives in congress to support it. The *New York Times* (February 17) published an account of Senator Wagner's speech before the radio forum on better housing which social workers will appreciate because he emphasized the fact that:

"Any action designed to eradicate the social evils of bad housing must begin where the worst housing exists. It must start with the lowest income level. It must help those families, comprising 66 per cent of our city population, who have incomes of less than \$1,327 per year."

And he added that "to neglect the housing conditions of this group at the outset would be like curing a cold but ignoring a cancer."

The case for federal aid was clearly put. "The millions of families on this low income level," he said, could "afford to spend for rent a little more than

half the amount necessary to supply them with safe and comfortable quarters." It was, therefore, "elementary to sincere thinking about housing that a part of the difference must be made up by governmental assistance."

One of the real difficulties to be faced in connection with government low-cost housing is the question of the selection of the low-income families who are to enjoy the benefit of the government aid. The public, he said, must

know definitely that our low-rent building program will be confined to those who are genuinely in need of public assistance. It must not be extended competitively into the field of homes for people of moderate means. Such a limitation is necessary, not only to be fair with industry, but it is also consistent with the national welfare.

Because of his ability and resourcefulness in pushing legislation, it is good news that Senator Wagner is determined to go forward with a permanent low-cost housing program. Speaking before the New York Building Congress recently, Senator Wagner is reported to have said that while private industry could take care of people with incomes of more than \$1,500 a year, provision for the masses of people with incomes below \$1,500 called for government help.

The majority of the poor, particularly in the congested city slums, need a renovating and building program of their own. To provide them with American standards, the Federal Government should extend partial assistance to local authorities in the form of loans of money at nominal rates of interest or by some other method.

Social workers everywhere will support this low-rent housing bill and work for its success.

AMEND THE CONSTITUTION!

THE decision of the United States Supreme Court that the AAA is unconstitutional is another milestone on the road to constitutional amendment. Legally we find agriculture is a local industry although the price of agricultural products is fixed in a world market. In the case of the Maternity and Infancy Act (*Mass. v. Mellon et al.*) the Supreme Court ruled it could not inquire into the constitutionality of grants-in-aid because it would not undertake to review expenditures by Congress. In the AAA case, it held grants-in-aid of agriculture, when coupled with conditions, was a regulation of agriculture and therefore unconstitutional.

Congress cannot regulate wages, hours, prices, and probably labor relations. Neither can the states under the Fourteenth Amendment ex-

cept as to special groups when clearly within the police power. Congress cannot establish a compulsory old age pension for the interstate carriers. Neither can the states. We may hear soon of other things vital to the future welfare of the nation which it cannot do.

In the September number of the *Review* we presented Senator Costigan's proposal for an amendment which would make possible legislation by Congress and by the states in general but enumerated categories. In the January 29 number of the *New Republic*, Lloyd K. Garrison, dean of the Law School of Wisconsin University and first chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, proposes one which is general rather than specific. Mr. Garrison says:

In drafting an amendment we must choose among several courses. One would be to add specific items to the present enumeration of federal powers. If we did that, not only would we invite further difficulties of interpretation, but we might find before long that we had omitted things which should have been included. Another course would be to define interstate commerce as including the production (and not merely the transportation) of goods moving in or destined for such commerce: a definition for which there is some historical support. But legislation under an amendment of that sort would be difficult to enforce because its application to numerous producers would turn upon disputed factual questions; and it might also prove too limited, and unfair in its classification, since some producers would be covered, while others, competing with them, would not be. The only remaining course (apart from certain possible amendments which would probably be too detailed and inflexible for constitutional purposes) would be to grant general power to Congress to promote the economic welfare of the United States. I think that that is the course we should pursue. And, without any brief for the particular language, I suggest the following amendment as a basis for discussion:

Congress shall have power to promote the economic welfare of the United States by such laws as in its judgment are appropriate, and to delegate such power in whole or in part to the states. Existing state powers are not affected by this Article, except as Congress may occupy a particular field.

Such an amendment would, of course, be subject to and limited by all the other parts of the Constitution, including the Fifth Amendment, with its provisions that the federal government shall deprive no one of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or take private property for public use without just compensation. In the case of due process, however, I think that the right of Congress to regulate such matters as wages, hours, prices and production—rights that in part at least have been denied the states under the similar due-process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment—would be upheld as within the affirmative powers implied in the new grant. The due-process requirement would then

be simply to this effect, that if Congress, for example, saw fit to enact minimum-wage legislation it could do so, provided the law was not arbitrary or unduly discriminatory in its application. There are some who would fear to leave even this much discretion to the judiciary; but, though the due-process clauses have at times been abused, they have at other times been a bulwark of protection to cherished liberties, and it would be extremely difficult to modify either of them, or to curtail the Court's right to construe them, without losing more than would be gained.

Mr. Garrison recognizes that "the power we need to make us masters in our own house is federal power. The maladies we suffer from are national in character, and they were utterly unknown and unforeseeable a hundred and fifty years ago, when the limited prerogatives of Congress were laid down."

The question is what kind of an amendment will best accomplish the objective and how to get it adopted.

A QUARTER-CENTURY OF PROGRESS

ON JANUARY 10 and 11 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Chicago celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of their agreement with Hart Schaffner & Marx, first with a concert at the Civic Opera House, which held only a fraction of those who sought admission and then at a banquet in their own handsome building with tables set in the large auditorium and gymnasium and with hundreds who were not able to get banquet tickets in the galleries. They cheered the leaders of that day and this and stood in tribute to those who were killed in 1910 and 1911. Prior to that time these Russian Jews, Italians, Poles, and other Slavs who had swarmed into the men's clothing trades in Chicago were not regarded as "good union material" and organization of the clothing trade seemed impossible. Professor Commons had so reported to the Industrial Commission in 1902 after an investigation of the trade. The strike which came in 1910 brought great suffering and ultimate victory although a second one was necessary in 1915 to consolidate the gains and include under the system of collective bargaining the other large clothing manufactures of Chicago.

Social workers of Chicago were much interested in these two strikes. The United Charities and the Jewish Charities had had to "carry" many of the clothing workers during the long slack seasons. They knew of the seasonal character of the work, of the inadequate wages paid, but they did not know of the petty tyranny of foremen and the harsh contempt or worse with which the workers were often treated. Knowledge of that

came with the strike. The strikers who were representatives of the newer immigration, were generally looked upon with contempt by the older immigrants and native Americans. But social workers knew and respected them. They believed they had capacity for leadership and for stubborn endurance of hardships in behalf of a cause which should make them a great force in the labor movement, if a successful beginning, however small, could give them a foundation on which to build. In Sidney Hillman, Anzuino Marimietri, Samuel Levin, Jacob Potofsky, and Bessie Abramovich (now Mrs. Hillman), the clothing workers found extraordinarily able and forward-looking labor leaders.

Social workers were active on committees in both strikes. They were eager to help, and although there was little they could do, they felt the cause of these strikers was in some very special way theirs also. When the Board of Trustees of the United Charities disapproved a part-time arrangement, James Mullenbach, the secretary of the society, resigned to become neutral chairman of the Joint Board of Employer and Employee Representatives of Hart Schaffner & Marx.

In these twenty-five years the amalgamated has lifted the clothing trades out of the sweated industry class, and brought self-respect to the workers and harmonious working relationships in the industry. It has raised wages and shortened hours of work, established banks, built homes for the workmen in New York, organized a voluntary system of unemployment compensation in Chicago to which both employers and employees contributed but which was managed by the employees.

It has done more than this. It was the first union to demonstrate a method for continuous collective bargaining, and it has helped at every opportunity the workers in our industries.

In 1910 there were practically no union funds; no organization. A special fund for milk for the babies in the strikers' families was raised and contribution for the commissaries were secured from interested individuals, churches, etc., but most of it came from local unions in other trades. Last autumn the Chicago Joint Board sent its check for \$250,000 for the organization fund of the National Board.

In an article in the current number of *Advance*, the union paper, Jacob Potofsky tells the story under the title "I remember 1910."

There was a meeting at Hull House in Chicago in late September, 1910. Some four to five hundred people were present. I was only a youngster then, but I knew enough to go to the meeting. It had been whispered around that the seamers in Shop No. 5 of Hart Schaffner & Marx had refused to accept another cut. Eighteen of them had quit in protest and the work was sent to other shops

of the same company. The seamers passed the word and rumblings began to be heard throughout the shops of a tacit refusal to touch the No. 5 work. For the first time the power of the management had been challenged. The result of weeks of contacts with various shops, that small Hull House meeting became the signal for concerted action.

The following day the workers of Hart Schaffner & Marx began marching out. The cutters joked at first about the handful of girls pitting their strength against the giant company, but soon all began to take it seriously. Within a few weeks the shops of Hart Schaffner & Marx and members of the Association, comprising some 35,000 workers and nine nationalities, were conducting one of the historical strikes in the industry. . . .

The strike was a mass movement. It was a spontaneous awakening of the workers, mostly immigrants who spoke in different languages, but all fired with the same fervor against exploitation.

There were three of us from Shop No. 24 at the Hull House meeting. The following morning most of the shop joined in the strike. . . .

There were four members of my family on strike, a large family that had no reserves. We lived in four dingy rooms on Washburn Avenue, and the problem of getting food and heat was a real one. After several weeks of striking, vouchers were handed out to strikers for two or three dollars a week, to be cashed at 275 La Salle Street . . . now part of Chicago's Wall Street section.

The mass of strikers stood patiently waiting for hours for the redemption of their vouchers, for the few dollars to relieve starvation. Finally the genial Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation, appeared on the balcony to explain that there were no more funds and to beseech the strikers to return peacefully to their respective halls. The strikers grumbled, some cursed indignantly, others shouted, but most of them returned silently, grimly determined to hold fast, to stand together, no matter what happened. . . .

The strike continued. The need for relief was urgent. . . . Each family was allowed a ration of solid foodstuffs, according to the size of the family. Thus, bread, sugar, oatmeal, coffee, beans and ham were given to strikers upon presentation of a striker's card, properly authorized. . . .

When the first offer of a settlement with Hart Schaffner & Marx was made, there was pandemonium in the hall. People stood on chairs, speakers were not only heckled but threatened with force. . . .

It was on one of these turbulent days that Sidney Hillman made his first appearance on the platform. He came as a member of a cutters' committee and asked for the floor. Marimpietri was in the chair as usual. He did not know this young man. No one knew him. He was not a member of the strike committee, nor chairman of a hall. But he was given the floor and allowed to speak.

Strangely enough, the crowd listened to him. The slow, accented English caught the attention of the house. Those standing on the chairs sat down. People forgot to heckle. And as the ringing voice went on, the house became quiet.

Hillman gave a reasoned analysis of the settlement offer—discussed the next steps to take. And the crowd listened. Here was logic, clearness, reality. When that speech was finished, he had won them. From that day on, in November, 1910, Hillman was a leader of the clothing workers. . . .

A price was paid for the creation of the union. Thousands paid it. Strikers gave their lives on the picket line; dozens of shop chairmen lost days of work in the shops, spent their evenings at meetings, and sleepless nights at home, worrying, working, building. Because of these struggles and sacrifices the union meant even more to them. If I say our lives are richer because of these struggles and experiences, does that express it fully? If I say that we have introduced a measure of industrial democracy where autocracy and exploitation prevailed; if I state that we have preached and practiced the ideals of true brotherhood, does that state it adequately?

Readers of the *Review* who are following the great struggle that is now going on within and without the American Federation of Labor for organization along industrial lines of the workers engaged in mass production know that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is one of the eight unions which formed the Committee for Industrial Organization to foster organization along industrial lines in the steel, automobile, and other basic industries. Craft Unionism is no longer adequate. The NRA brought to the surface the impossibility of bargaining successfully when the workers are divided into ten or fifteen different unions in a single plant. But a change is difficult. There are "vested interests" in the old order as well as loyalty and devotion to the craft unions. John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America, is the chairman of the C.I.O.; Sidney Hillman is a member of the Committee. He is more widely trusted than Mr. Lewis and can be counted upon for wise and courageous counsel in what may prove to be the most dangerous or the most useful undertaking of organized labor in this country in the last quarter century. And Hillman has behind him an army, larger than the United States Army, prepared not to take life but to sacrifice for a more abundant life for their fellow-workers.

STAFF FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

THE Social Security Board has appointed the directors of its five major bureaus. Now when Congress passes the deficiency bill and provides money for grants-in-aid and salaries, the Board will be ready to function.

Of special interest to *Review* readers is the selection of Jane Hoey as head of the Public Assistance Bureau, which means she will have responsibility for the administration of federal grants-in-aid of old age

assistance, aid to dependent children, and to the needy blind. Miss Hoey has been assistant executive director of the Welfare Council of New York City for the last eight years. Prior to that she was assistant secretary of the Board of Child Welfare in New York City, director of field service for the Atlantic Division of the Red Cross, and assistant director of a "Study of the Local Units of National Social Agencies in Fourteen American Communities." She has been for several years a member of the New York State Correction Commission and of the Crime Commission, which drafted the present parole system for New York State. She is a graduate of Trinity College, New York School of Social Work, and has an M.A. from Columbia University. Miss Hoey's experience has been limited largely to New York, but it has been sufficiently varied to give her the administrative experience and understanding of organization problems which her new position requires. She will have to learn the widely different problems of the other forty-seven states, but she brings ability and interest to that task.

Also from New York is R. Gordon Wagenet, who has been appointed director of the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation. Born and educated in California, Mr. Wagenet has since the war been a specialist in industrial relations in the men's clothing trades in Rochester and from 1926 to 1933 in the building industry in New York City. Since 1933 he has been with the National Labor Board and its successor, the National Labor Relations Board.

Murray W. Latimer will serve both as chairman of the Railroad Retirement Pension Board and as director of the Bureau of Federal Old Age Benefits of the Security Board. Mr. Latimer, a native of Mississippi, was with the Harvard School of Business Administration from 1923 to 1926 and chief statistician of Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., from 1926 to 1933. This position he left to become consultant on pensions to the federal co-ordinator of transportation. He is the author of *Industrial Pensions and Trade Union Pension Systems*.

Walton H. Hamilton has been appointed director, and Ewan Clague assistant director, of the Bureau of Research and Statistics. Mr. Hamilton, a graduate of the University of Texas and a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, has taught economics at the universities of Michigan and Chicago, at Amherst College, resigning with Meiklejohn to accept the position of director of the Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government. Since the latter experiment ended in 1928, he has been professor of public law at Yale and more recently director of the Consumers' Division of the NRA, which is now in the United States Department

of Labor. He is the author, with Helen Wright, of *The Case of Bituminous Coal* and *A Way of Order for Bituminous Coal*, and of other books and articles in the field of economics.

Ewan Clague, a graduate of the University of Washington and a Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin, has in recent years been director of research of the Community Council of Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania School of Social Work. His earlier experience, the announcement of his appointment tells us, was secured with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the Institute of Human Relations at Yale. Mr. Clague is well known to social workers as he is a frequent contributor to social-work journals and the author, or joint author, of *Ten Thousand out of Work*, *After the Shut Down*, *No Money for Rent*, and *Charitable Trusts*.

Last but not least, Louis Resnick has come to the Board from New York to be director of its Information Service. He was in charge of publicity for the Welfare Council of New York City for some eight years and was loaned for a time by the Council to Mr. Hodson when he became commissioner of public welfare. Mr. Resnick has done similar work with the National Safety Council, the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, and the Family Welfare Society.

The Children's Bureau has also appointed the heads of the divisions which will administer Title V of the Act. Mary Irene Atkinson, well known in social-work circles as a member of the staff of the Child Welfare League of America and director of the division of charities of the Ohio Department of Public Welfare, is director of the Child Welfare Division, while Dr. Albert McCown, a pediatrician who was director of the Child Hygiene Division of the Oregon Department of Health, heads the Maternity and Infancy Division, and Dr. R. C. Hood the Crippled Children's Division.

KATHARINE DAVIS

DR. KATHARINE BEMENT DAVIS, who died December 10, 1935, was, until her retirement in 1928, a leading figure in prison reform and in the social hygiene movement. Trained as a psychologist at the University of Chicago, her first important work was as superintendent of the Bedford Hills Reformatory for Women in New York. During the years 1904 to 1914, when she was at the head of this institution, she introduced what was at that time a new type of work program in which the staff as well as the girls participated. Instead of employing the girls on inside maintenance only, she set them to gardening, putting in the ice, caring for the lawns, raising pigs, dairying, and on one occasion, when cement but no

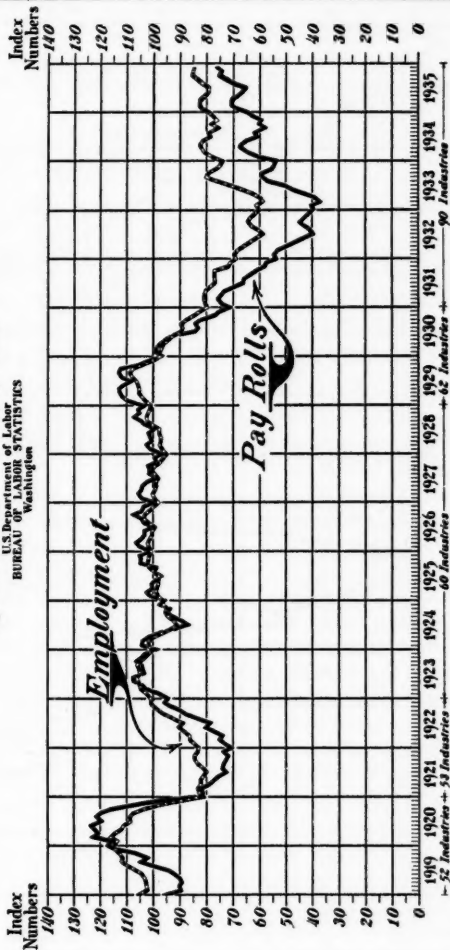
funds for labor was available, laying the cement walks. She added a woman physician to the staff of the Reformatory and secured funds for a psychological research bureau—all of which were new undertakings at that time.

Dr. Davis became Commissioner of Correction for New York City under Mayor Mitchell in 1914, and left this position to become first a member and then chairman of the parole commission created by the Mitchell administration. On a pleasure visit to Sicily, at the time of an earthquake in 1914, Dr. Davis organized relief and rescue work for the victims; then, as a means of restoring order and quieting fears, she put the people to work on roads, which were later named for her. From 1918 to 1928 Dr. Davis was secretary of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, which was supported by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

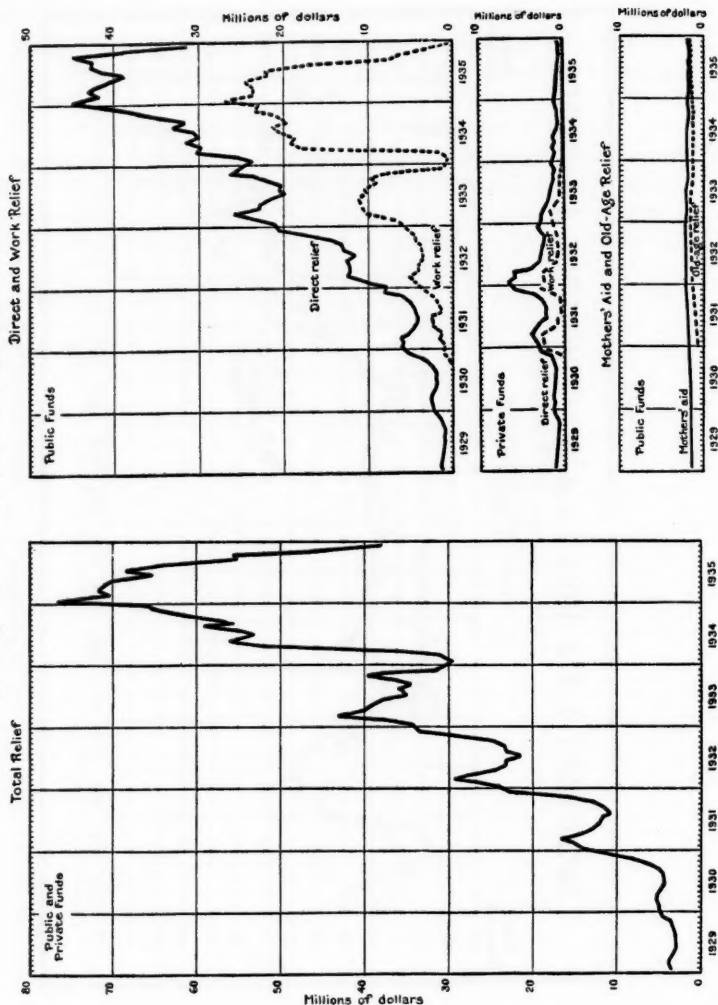
EMPLOYMENT & PAY ROLLS in the MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

3 year average 1923-1925 = 100

U.S. Department of Labor
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
Washington



RELIEF EXPENDITURES IN 120 URBAN AREAS (U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau)



BOOK REVIEWS

Housing Problems and Possibilities in the United States. By FRANK WATSON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1935. Pp. 100. \$1.25.

Rehousing Urban America. By HENRY WRIGHT. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935. Pp. xxii+173. \$7.50.

Rebuilding of Blighted Areas. A Study of the Neighborhood Unit in Replanning and Plot Assemblage. By CLARENCE ARTHUR PERRY and C. EARL MORROW. New York: Regional Plan Association, 1933. Pp. 59. \$2.00.

Housing and Slum Clearance in London. By HUGH QUIGLEY and ISMAY GOLDIE. London: Methuen & Co., 1934. Pp. xi+227. 7s. 6d.

A list of useful books on housing continues to come from American and English presses. Mr. Frank Watson, who has been an attorney in some important posts under the New Deal, including that of acting general counsel for the Federal Housing Administration, has dealt briefly but competently in his compact little book with some of the very difficult problems raised by slum clearance and rehousing programs.

Mr. Watson's book attempts to answer some of the questions which baffle those who are anxious to see "something done," and done promptly, about insanitary housing. For example, such questions as Why isn't the housing problem solved? How can the home mortgage problem be solved? How can real estate taxes be reduced? Can a housing program aid economic recovery? are typical of the questions which he answers without subterfuge or side-stepping.

Mr. Lewis Mumford, who writes a briefly vigorous Foreword to Mr. Wright's rather magnificent "re-housing" book, describes housing as "one of the more backward arts in America"—"technically, economically, and socially." Social workers, more than any other group, know these "vast areas of slums and blighted sections in every community," which Mr. Mumford describes as "the price we have paid for our methods of individualistic speculative enterprise in housing." Mr. Henry Wright, an architect who served as research secretary for two committees of the President's Housing Conference of 1931, has had the vision and courage to study an old problem so constructively as to bring new hope of a concerted co-operative attack on some of the old difficulties.

Dealing with the past—with "Blight" and "Blight Rehabilitation"—Mr. Wright then proceeds to his study of the evolution and development of modern housing methods. Here he presents, very effectively, the case for group housing, with illustrations of Sunnyside, Radburn, Chatham Village, Hillside, dealing first with the American experiments but using also illustrations from German

and Swiss experiments in housing and community planning. The last six chapters Mr. Wright has devoted to a "forecast of planning advancement," dealing with large-scale planning and use of group housing in slum clearance. This beautifully illustrated book will be a great help to everyone interested in finding the way out of our housing muddle. As Mr. Mumford well says in his Foreword, Mr. Wright's book is "both preparedness and stimulus" for the "day of concerted action, action over a long period of years and over a wide area" which lies ahead.

One of the basic studies for the New York Regional Plan was Mr. Perry's "Neighborhood Unit," which set a "scheme of arrangement for the family-life community." The present volume, which deals with the rebuilding of "blighted areas," is devoted to the problem of replanning and plot assemblage. Mr. Perry realized that, although his neighborhood unit plan had been very favorably received, it had found great practical difficulties in the way of success. Obstacles were met in the bringing-together of the various parcels of land required for the development of a large tract. Mr. Perry points out, however, the disadvantages resulting from modifications of the "neighborhood community idea" that seem to be necessary in view of the practical difficulties of plot assembling.

The volume by Mr. Quigley and Miss Goldie is a review of British policy rather than the presentation of new material. Just why Mr. Quigley's name appears first is not altogether clear since he adds as a last paragraph in his Preface the statement that "the entire book with the exception of the first and last chapters is the work of Miss Goldie," and he explains that his part in the publication "apart from those two short chapters, has been confined to a small degree of supervision and proof correction."

Miss Goldie reviews English housing policies, beginning with the work of the Royal Commission on Housing in 1884-85 and continuing on down through the pre-war period and the war and post-war changes. There is a discussion of the situation today and of the housing work by the London County Council, by other local authorities, and by the housing trusts. Progress under the Wheatley Subsidy and the Greenwood Act, the result of the national housing campaign of 1933 and the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act, 1933, are all competently reviewed in this volume.

Miss Goldie's account of the present situation should be valuable reading for those who think that Great Britain has gone far toward solving the housing problem. She puts down the 1919 Housing Act as a "brilliant failure" and suggests among other reasons that it gave to the local authorities "the responsibility of building the huge quota of houses, to the private builder the responsibility of actual erection, and for itself the financial losses which were bound to occur."

That is, Miss Goldie thinks that in spite of government assistance "the local authorities found clearance an expensive business and there was continually a cry for more help in the reconstruction of unhealthy areas. This Mr. Greenwood attempted to give in his 1930 Housing Act."

The 1919 Housing Act was repealed in 1921 and, instead of the 500,000 houses promised, something like 200,000 were finally built. Under the first labor government, the new Wheatley subsidy was to build 2,500,000 houses. Actually less than 500,000 were built under that subsidy system. In general, these houses built by private enterprise with the subsidy were for the group described in England as the "lower-middle class" and not for the lowest income group. In 1930 Mr. Arthur Greenwood, the minister of health in the last labor government, "realizing the failure of the current subsidies settled down to solve the slum problem." However, the problem remained unsolved:

Little, so far, has been done in London or elsewhere under this Act as most districts are in no condition yet to eject summarily tenants from the slums when overcrowding is still so prevalent.

The passing of the Greenwood Act and its translation into practice depended for success on the ability and drive of the Government. The world economic and political crisis of 1931 condemned the Act to oblivion almost at once and the advent of the national Government with its insistence on private enterprise deferred all proper investigation of the housing needs of the country [p. 85].

Pictures of some of the housing carried out by various housing trusts, commissioners of crown lands, and different local authorities adorn this book and give the impression that England is well on the way to "garden estates" of one kind or another. But the slums remain. Miss Goldie charges that "procrastination characterizes the London County Council attitude to slums and in this the Ministry of Health has abetted them" (p. 103). She says further of the London County Council that

in the matter of slum clearance, apart from the dilatory affair of Tabard Street, which was completed in 1917, practically nothing has been done for twenty years. This was particularly inexcusable in those years when houses were plentiful and reparative measures did not spell disaster. Big slum clearance schemes were neglected. One other area, Brady Street in Bethnal Green, was approved before the War and completed eventually in 1922 [pp. 99-100].

The insanitary or blighted areas in London that are still to be cleared are also discussed. Miss Goldie says that "areas represented by the Medical Officers in 1919 remain untouched to this day," and she speaks of certain places in Shoreditch "where the houses are old and worn and have been improved and patched up without avail" since they were first reported by the medical officers. For example, she reports in one of the Shoreditch areas "one water hydrant to every six houses and a w.c. in a front garden." She calls attention to places in Southwark (South London) "which were represented as unfit for human habitation as long ago as 1909 but still remain. The London County Council proposal to recondition certain parts for the poorest tenants was deprecated by the Medical Officer since the buildings are patently unsuitable 'to perpetuate for any lengthy period.'"

She describes the illegal "undergrounds" and the basement plague spots and

while she thinks that the tenant who can pay a fair rent is offered by the London County Council "good accommodation, in abundance," and that the success of the County Council cannot be denied with regard to this group, there are still 100,000 people in the County of London "existing in underground insanitary homes" (p. 92).

As recently as 1932, Sir George Newman, the distinguished chief medical officer for the Ministry of Health, spoke of the urgent need for "sanitary homes, in which it is possible to live a healthy life; and he said that "millions of our [English] people have not got such homes."

On the whole, these books are encouraging, because they show a very great advance with regard to the planning and building of new homes, and of course the building of comfortable and pleasant modern homes even for the "lower-middle class" is not a negligible achievement. But the books are also discouraging because they show the picture on a vast scale of the unrelieved misery of the poorest people with regard to proper housing and the stupendous difficulties that still lie in the way of meeting the needs of the lowest income groups.

EDITH ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Vocational Guidance in Action. By JOHN A. FITCH. Published for the American Association of Social Workers. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935. Pp. xvii+294. \$2.75.

This is the fifth and concluding volume of a series of job analyses of positions in social work prepared under the direction of a special committee of the American Association of Social Workers. Preceding volumes in this series of studies, which were started in 1926, have presented a picture of the duties, qualifications, compensation, and day-to-day activities and practices of social workers in family service agencies, in medical and psychiatric service, in settlements and other group-work agencies, in the field of child care and protection, and in the treatment and prevention of delinquency and crime.¹

While the title *Vocational Guidance in Action*, unlike the titles given to the rest of the series, might seem to imply an analysis in terms of program or organization, it is not the purpose of the book to present a picture of vocational guidance but rather of the duties and activities of the vocational guidance worker. In accordance with the general plan followed in all the volumes of the series, the practice of vocational guidance is described in terms of what workers in the field actually do in the course of their daily work and under what conditions their work is done.

¹ Louise C. Odencrantz, *The Social Worker in Family, Medical and Psychiatric Social Work* (Harper & Bros., 1929); Margaretta Williamson, *The Social Worker in Group Work* (Harper & Bros., 1929); Margaretta Williamson, *The Social Worker in Child Care and Protection* (Harper & Bros., 1931); Margaretta Williamson, *The Social Worker in the Prevention and Treatment of Delinquency* (Columbia University Press, 1935).

A field study, covering about six months, was made by the author in ten cities of the East and Middle West, in which a definite vocational guidance program had been developed, and this was supplemented by questionnaires sent out by mail to as complete a list of vocational counselors and placement workers dealing with two special groups—juniors and the handicapped—as could be located through correspondence with school superintendents and with governmental and private social agencies doing employment work.

Specialization is not great in the vocational guidance field. With the exception of a small number of persons in executive positions and a few whose duties consist exclusively in giving mental tests, in conducting occupational research, or in teaching classes in occupations, the workers in this field fall into two groups: vocational counselors, who may or may not do placement work as well; and placement workers dealing with groups who are in special need of guidance, such as juniors or the handicapped. Mr. Fitch in his job analysis has studied and described only these two last-named groups of workers. An analysis of the qualifications and duties of the executive, carefully studied in all the other volumes of the series, of the research worker in occupations, and of the teacher of occupational information, would be of interest.

A clear and comprehensive analysis of the work of the vocational counselor presents unusual difficulties. In the first place, as Mr. Fitch points out, although organized vocational guidance was first developed under private social-work auspices, and the technique of the counselor is the technique of the social case worker, the recent growth of the movement has come chiefly from within the public-school system. Here the practitioners are teachers rather than social workers, or if specially trained for their jobs receive that training in teachers' colleges rather than in schools of social work. For this reason probably greater variety exists among practitioners in this than in other fields as to techniques, training, and previous experience of workers and the kind of duties assigned them. Another factor that makes analysis of the counselor's job on a country-wide scale especially difficult is the lack of centralization of vocational guidance activities of the school systems of certain cities, which makes it possible for each school in a city to have a guidance program differing more or less from that of every other school. A third complication is presented by the fact that many school counselors do not give full time to their counseling job, and that there is great variation in the amount of time given. Mr. Fitch is aware of these difficulties and seeks to overcome them by presenting numerous examples of counseling practice in different cities. These examples are, however, confined chiefly to the cities which were visited in the field study, where a vocational guidance program had been longest in operation and where administration of vocational guidance had been most definitely centralized. It is to be regretted that similarly detailed information could not be given about the work of the representatives of that probably more numerous group of counselors who are employed in school systems where there is no centralized guidance program, where the counselors

are drawn from the teaching profession, and for the most part give part if not most of their time to teaching and act as counselors only as a side issue. Certainly a more authentic picture of the activities of the counselor would be obtained by substituting for the record of a sample week of a counselor in one large city, which appears in Appendix C, records of a typical day's work of half a dozen counselors in as many cities, including some with decentralized vocational guidance systems.

The section of the study relating to the "Placement Worker in Vocational Guidance" contains a detailed account of procedure in registering and interviewing the applicant, referral and follow-up, and in employer contacts. Most of this relates to procedure in school placement offices. The usefulness of the study would have been increased by the addition of an analysis of procedures of specialists in junior placement in public employment offices where special divisions for handling junior applicants have been set up, as has been done by the New York State Employment Service, and of "diaries" of sample days for several junior placement workers. The interest and value of this section of the volume are enhanced by a chapter on the placement of the handicapped.

This book is one which will be of interest primarily to the student in vocational guidance training courses, to practitioners in the field, and to those responsible for the direction of their work, including school superintendents and principals. To the social worker in other fields and the general reader it will be of value chiefly in rounding out the picture of the aims, development, and organization of vocational guidance programs in various cities as presented in other publications.

ELLEN NATHALIE MATTHEWS

WELFARE COUNCIL OF NEW YORK CITY

Negro-White Adjustment. By PAUL E. BAKER, PH.D. New York: Association Press, 1934. Pp. 267. \$3.00.

Tuberculosis and the Negro in Pittsburgh. By ELSIE WITCHEN. Pittsburgh: Tuberculosis League of Pittsburgh, 1934. Pp. 120. Paper; gratis.

Negro Child Welfare in North Carolina. By WILEY BRITTON SANDERS, PH.D. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933. Pp. xi+326. \$1.00.

Maladjustments found in the relations between whites and Negroes obviously work to the social, economic, physical, and moral disadvantage of the minority. The handicaps growing out of these disadvantages make good relationships more difficult. The motives behind the attempts to break this vicious circle have ranged from "uplift" to self-defense. The methods employed have varied from open conflict to peaceful understanding. Increased awareness that conflict causes losses on both sides, that disease and crime find victims in both

racess, has played no small part in bringing about the gains which have been made. Inquiries which give us the basis for the application of better approaches hasten the better day for both races. These three books together, though covering different fields from different points of view, portray clearly the possibilities for improvement in race relations and in the conditions under which Negroes live.

Dr. Baker's book is a study of the methods employed by ten interracial agencies¹ in their attempts to bring about better relations between Negroes and whites.

From the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, which "plans to keep only a step in advance of the general populace on race issues," through to the International Labor Defense, which "is a broad non-party organization, based on the class struggle, which aims to defend all workers who are being persecuted by the capitalist government and various other agencies of the employing class for their participation in the class struggle by rendering legal aid and moral and financial support to these workers and their dependents, by wide publicity, organizing mass demonstrations of support and protest, both here and abroad," he sketches the histories, philosophies, and programs of the agencies.

Among the three dozen "cases" or "interracial situations" which are briefly sketched and interpreted one finds the Scottsboro case, the Tulsa race riot, the admission of Negro internes and nurses to the City Hospital of Cleveland, and a group of tourists snubbing a Negro girl on a trip to Europe. The sketches are for the most part too brief to be of any great value for individual scrutiny but, taken as a group, present a good cross-section picture of race relations today. The cases illustrate a wide variety of efforts on the part of the various agencies. Some of the more extensively used methods are: fact-finding procedures, group and personal pressure, legal aid, violence, protests and resolution, publicity, and a host of educational efforts. Sometimes the efforts of two or more agencies interested in the same case are in direct conflict. This is well illustrated in the Scottsboro case. Two sets of lawyers appeared before the court, each claiming to represent the accused boys. Duplication of efforts is not uncommon. An excellent example of co-operation between interracial agencies appears in the successful efforts to eliminate the anti-Negro activities of the Order of Black Shirts, organized in Atlanta in 1930. Two agencies pooled their efforts and resources, and a third withdrew from active participation in organized educational work but assisted with newspaper publicity.

¹ They are: the Commission on Interracial Co-operation; the National Urban League; the Commission on Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; the Interracial Department of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association; the Interracial Work of the Young Women's Christian Association; the Society of Friends; the Fellowship of Reconciliation; the American Civil Liberties Union; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the International Labor Defense.

The paragraphs labeled "Interpretation," which follow each story, are consistently weak. One is quoted here in full:

In the death of the Black Shirt Movement lies one of the finest tributes that could be paid to the work of the Interracial Commission and those agencies co-operating with it. Not only was the South saved from strong anti-Negro hysteria, but also another decisive step was taken to advance the cause of interracial co-operation.

A chapter giving the results of a questionnaire inquiry into the reasons for changes in attitudes of members of one race toward members of other races throws little light on the subject as the sample was small and unrepresentative and no clear trends are indicated.

The facts presented in this book amply justify the author's conclusions that there is need for some means of co-ordinating the work of the various interracial agencies and for further inquiring into the psychological, particularly the emotional, factors in race relations. Dr. Baker devotes little space to psychological factors, although in his Introduction he makes out a good case for emphasizing them.

The study of tuberculosis among Negroes in Pittsburgh brings to light facts that should stimulate similar studies elsewhere. Pittsburgh stands midway among our larger cities when death-rates from tuberculosis are compared. The findings of this study may be indicative of conditions generally. The need for this study was indicated by the increasing number of Negro patients at the tuberculosis clinic and the fact that the Negro death-rate from tuberculosis was six times that of the white population of the city.

In this survey, conducted under the auspices of the Tuberculosis League of Pittsburgh, a special clinic operating from October 15, 1931, to September 15, 1933, examined 8,385 persons, or 15 per cent of the Negro population, representing 33 per cent of the Negro families. Of those examined 12.3 per cent had tuberculosis in some form, 8 per cent had adult type disease, and 6.6 per cent were in the active stage.

Variation in rates of disease among persons classified as "light," "medium," and "dark" in color were so slight as to indicate that in all probability race is not a great factor in the prevalence of tuberculosis in Pittsburgh Negroes. Standards of living had a more direct bearing. Close contact with other diseased persons loomed large as a source of infection. Of patients giving probable source of their disease 69.8 per cent gave a history of tuberculosis in their families. Tuberculous persons may directly menace the health of others than members of their families. Seven per cent of the diagnosed cases were food-handlers and 12.5 per cent were domestic or personal service workers.

The survey brings out clearly that "case finding" is an important step in the control of tuberculosis. The need for more adequate facilities for diagnosis, clinical treatment, home nursing and follow-up, and for hospitalization both for the care of the patient and for the protection of his family stands out clearly. The need for continued educational effort so well begun by this survey is ap-

parent. A concrete program for the control of tuberculosis in Pittsburgh has been outlined.

An appendix gives the incidental findings regarding the prevalence of syphilis among persons examined in the tuberculosis survey. These findings indicate this health problem as a field for careful inquiry.

A growing interest in Negro welfare, expressed in North Carolina by the establishing of a Division of Work among Negroes in the State Board of Charities in 1925, made an inquiry into the care and treatment of Negro children of that state timely. The study, under the direction of Dr. Sanders, had as its objective the securing of a basis on which a program for Negro children in North Carolina could be developed.

The book consists of a group of special studies and reports made in connection with the survey. There are variations in point of view as well as in the manner of presentation and in the depth of the material.

A survey of the institutional facilities for the care of dependent, delinquent, and handicapped Negro children reveals that provision for this group is deficient in amount and seriously below minimum standards in quality. As there is no child-placing agency serving Negro children in North Carolina, the foster-care facilities for dependent and delinquent Negro children are limited to four institutions with a combined maximum capacity of about five hundred.

With the exception of the Ward for Negro Children in the North Carolina Orthopedic Hospital, in which good standards seemed to be maintained and to which intake was restricted to the number who could be cared for properly, the tendency to spread the service thin to meet a tremendous need with small resources had greatly overshadowed the efforts to develop standards. From many points of view some of the institutions offered the children little, if any, more than their own homes provided. At the Colored Orphanage in 1928 matrons were responsible for an average of 87 children each, and in 1930 one matron was responsible for 100 children. Children from the Training School for Boys and the Colored Orphanage frequently were assigned to work for nearby farmers; and the institutions received the wages paid, the children themselves receiving nothing. The Industrial School for Girls provided no cups, saucers, or cereal bowls, and only four knives for eighteen girls. Individual tooth-brushes, towels, combs, etc., seemed to be the exception rather than the rule. For the most part medical care was limited to the relief of acute conditions. No psychiatric service was provided by the institutions.

On the other hand, discipline, while not administered too well in many instances, did not appear severe in any of the institutions and there was little corporal punishment. Within the limited resources and skill at hand serious efforts were made to establish proper habits of conduct and industry in the wards of the institutions.

None of the institutions had case-work service of its own and had to depend for information and service upon the county welfare units and the juvenile

courts. These agencies in practice furnished little information at the time of the referral of the children, and carried on little, if any, follow-up in institutional cases.

Recommendations for the improvement of the situation were of a very elementary nature, designed for the most part to bring the care of children up to the barest minimum standard. One institution was advised to eliminate "gradually" the practice of sleeping two or three children in one bed. Improvement of medical service, the keeping of records, and increases and improvements in staff were recommended throughout.

The survey included an extensive review of the work of the juvenile courts. The discussion and illustrative cases indicate a decided lack of organization, staff, skill, and understanding. Differences in the treatment of white and Negro children were quite apparent. Fewer Negro girls than white girls were brought before the courts for sex delinquency, although illegitimacy among Negro girls was much more common than among white girls. Dependent Negro children received relatively less attention than white children from the juvenile court, while the reverse was true of delinquent children. Negro children accounted for only 22.4 per cent of the dependency cases and 44.1 per cent of the delinquency cases before the juvenile courts.

Some children under sixteen years of age were sent to the state prison. Of the 349 so committed from 1918 to 1931, 60 per cent were Negro. Negro children were given longer sentences than white children received for the same offenses.

Negro children were less fortunate than white children with respect to mothers' aid, education, and other services to children, although some progress was apparent.

Negroes are usually represented in the management of welfare activities for Negro children in North Carolina. They are in the minority on most boards and committees. However, there seems to be a trend toward a larger participation on the part of Negroes and a better recognition on the part of white leaders of what the Negroes can contribute in the development of welfare programs. In this there is hope.

LOUIS E. EVANS

COOK COUNTY BUREAU OF PUBLIC WELFARE
CHICAGO

The Shadow of the Plantation. By CHARLES S. JOHNSON. (Introduction, DR. ROBERT E. PARK.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. Pp. xxiv+215. \$2.50.

In which there is mapped the country on which falls the shadow of the ancient plantation system, a delineation of its present and past inhabitants, and a clairvoyant's description of how and why they live, move, and have their being.

To those who had learned to depend upon the brilliant editor of *Opportunity*

for cameo-like pictures of life in that little-known area in which live America's black half-citizens, the *Shadow of the Plantation* comes as a welcome letter from a long-absent friend. The remarkable insight which enabled Editor Johnson to run the gamut in making understandable the hopes, fears, loves, and hates of people of markedly different ways of life, is apparent in the recent book as in the old days when he edited *Opportunity*.

In the pages of this his latest book, sketches of elemental hate and fear, stark with the realism of Greek tragedies, follow intimate and tender love tales. The case histories reveal a broad philosophy of life which seems to be born of a close association with the soil. The lament of a sorrowing mother, as she lives anew the loss of a daughter sacrificed to primitive passions unloosed in a bacchanalian revel, is prose poetry of high order. As one turns the pages he travels under the direction of a gifted interpreter and thoroughly experienced guide through an area, set within the ring of encircling mountains, which has escaped the influences of the highly industrialized and complex civilization that has grown up at its very doors.

The explanation of the difficulties in adjustment, the reasons for the rapid deterioration of body and mind which sometimes occurs when these plantation dwellers exchange their isolation for the life of the larger cities, is clearly indicated in this careful study of the life of these isolated Negroes. The student of high Negro death-rates, of nervous and mental diseases in our Negro population, of tuberculosis rates from two to five times the general averages can find in this study of plantation influence and hangover the basic problems which must be attacked.

Here are master and serf who, like Rip Van Winkle, have been asleep while the principles of equal opportunity, self-determination, and self-help developed. Here, clearly defined, is a dead and decaying culture; here, tied to an exhausted soil, are people who, in denying to others "the rights of free contract and security of property," deprive themselves of a part in the contemporary life and thought of their times. Rupert Vance, of that pioneer group at the University of North Carolina, has presented in *Human Factors in Cotton Culture* unrelieved case histories which show clearly the how and why of their lives. In the *Shadow of the Plantation* we begin to see that "to the Negro tenant the white landlord is the system, to the white landlord the capital of the banks is the system. The landlord needs credit by which to advance credit to the tenants. The security of the landlord is in the mortgages on his land; the security of the tenant is the mortgage on the crops which he will raise" (p. 128). His safety, nay his very life, depends upon his ability to wring from the tenant sufficient to meet the ever pressing demands of the owners of the vested interests, and, if possible, sustenance for himself and family. As the manager of the world's largest cotton plantation once expressed, "the cotton planter is a manager without salary, for the banks." The demands of the system are for more, more, always more, and as one sees wornout land, wornout houses, mule, and man, he realizes the hopelessness with

which the man exclaims, "work, work, debt and work—ain't goin' to be no changes till I die."

Life, however, in its dreariest aspects has always some measures of relief: "pleasurings with wimmens"; emotional excesses masquerading as religion; soul satisfactions coming from sacrifices that a child may through "schoolin'" find release from the chains which bind the parent to the system and to the soil; hope that a chance may come to go "Nawth," a land which is almost as foreign and remote as "Hebben," the land across the Jordan. Imagine a life so poor that a visit to a clinic, in a church, for the treatment of syphilis becomes an occasion and arouses no feeling of shame or social condemnation. The author tells us that the planters were persuaded by the Rosenwald Fund to permit the testing of their tenants for syphilis and free treatment, because to the planters it would mean more days at work and increased production, while the tenants would have in their weekly visits a break in the long, long cotton day which runs regularly from sun to sundown, and on occasions from dawn till dark. As Sterling Brown puts it:

Cotton, Cotton
All we know;
Plant cotton, hoe it,
Baig it to grow;
What good it do to us
Gawd only know!

LLEWELLYN HARRIS

CHICAGO

A Social Survey of Plymouth. London: P. S. King & Co., Ltd., 1935.
Pp. 36. 1s. 6d.

This report is a preliminary summary of a study commenced late in 1933 and is to be followed later by a more detailed exposition. The survey was financed by contributions from the Rockefeller Foundation and from Lord Astor and was directed by the Department of Economics of the University College of the South-West of England with the assistance of an advisory committee of social workers and educators.

The method used was one now widely accepted in England, and the results may therefore be compared with the findings of the Merseyside Survey, with Professor Bowley's exhaustive study of London, and with other similar studies. Every twentieth house was included in the sample. Working-class families were defined to include those in which the total family income in the week preceding the interview did not exceed £5. The Plymouth Survey differed from some of its predecessors in including in weekly income any benefits received under the terms of any of the social services.

One of the principal findings was that housing in Plymouth compares unfavorably with housing in other communities in England. Four different standards

of overcrowding were applied to the data. By the least rigorous of these, 17.0 per cent of all working-class families were overcrowded, and by the most rigorous, no less than 25.2 per cent were overcrowded. Moreover, rents were found to be higher in Plymouth than elsewhere in the country. Since average family income per week was also found to be lower in Plymouth than in other communities, the proportion of family income absorbed by rent ran as high as 39 per cent in the lowest income groups.

The major recommendation of the survey is based on these facts relative to housing:

Wages in Plymouth are relatively low and house rents high. Unhappily, rates of wages are not easily increased. But houses, cheaper and better than the over-crowded habitations of Plymouth can be erected in quick time. The Survey urges that as rapidly as possible there should be an adequate provision of new houses to be let at low or reasonable terms. Both because these houses will increase the total number of houses and because the rents charged for them will be less, they will bring about a reduction in working-class rents as a whole. It is not a complete, but it is, as far as it goes, a very real remedy.

Social workers in this country who have been facing the problem of supplementing the W.P.A. "security wage" and the earnings from part-time or underpaid employment will be especially interested in the degree to which analogous practices were found in Plymouth. One-eighth of the average income of working-class families in Plymouth was derived from social service income. The main constituents of this income were: unemployment benefit (37 per cent of the total social service income); old-age pensions (over 24 per cent); public assistance (over 13 per cent); widows' and orphans' pensions (about 13 per cent); war pensions (over 10 per cent). Approximately one-third of all working-class families in Plymouth were dependent for some part of their income upon social service benefits.

It is difficult for one unfamiliar with prices in England to evaluate the "poverty datum line" adopted in this study. It seems fair to assume, however, that it approximates a reasonable minimum standard of health and decency. Measured by the standard adopted, 16 per cent of all working-class families were found to be existing below the poverty line. A distribution of these families revealed that, while 24.8 per cent were families in which the chief wage-earner was either unemployed or casually employed, almost twice as many, 46.3 per cent, were families in which there was no wage-earner at all. In other words, to quote the study, the heaviest burdens of poverty have to be borne, "not by the unemployed, but by families without wage income." Naturally the latter group is heavily weighted with aged and infirm persons. Admittedly there is a more dependable method of cushioning the shock of unemployment in England than we have thus far developed in this country. Nevertheless, social workers who have been forced to accept the arbitrary and indefinite division between employables and unemployables that now provides the basis for federal assistance will be im-

pressed by the evidence in the Plymouth Survey that the unemployables exist in a state of poverty in larger numbers than any other group. Raising them out of this slough will not be accomplished by dismissing them as a local responsibility.

WAYNE McMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Playtime in Russia. By various authors. Edited by HUBERT GRIFFITH. London: Methuen & Co., 1935. Pp. 249. 6s.

Much has appeared in the newspapers and magazines about the two five-year plans for bringing the industrial status of the U.S.S.R. up to the minute; but little has come to us through those media as to what has been going on in the theatrical world, including films, or in the realms of music, sports, and children's play.

This book, each chapter of which is by a different specialist, all English save one, and none an avowed Communist, gives us this information; but it does not tell us about the community centers in the villages which serve the people's leisure-time needs in vital ways.

We are told by the editor of *Playtime in Russia* that before the Revolution "hours in Russian factories used to be anything up to twelve and thirteen a day," that "they are now in most cases seven" and "in many cases six," proving that there is something of a leisure-time problem over there. But the government is facing it, and with a will. What it is undertaking is but another instance of large-scale activity, a part of the movement on all fronts to bring health, joy, self-expression into the lives of the one hundred sixty million people of Russia.

As to stage plays and the movies, the writers in this book make clear that the bulk of the plays and films are frankly intended to further the new social, political, and industrial life of the proletariat, the philosophy and the hopes which lie behind the Revolution, although some other types, including Shakespeare's plays, are produced. This the man on the street in America would label "propaganda." Russian leaders call it education.

One of the writers declares that:

a theatrical performance of a play which deals directly with Communistic ideals is like a revivalist meeting. Men and women cheer at the inevitable end of such plays with an enthusiasm I have never heard in our own theatres. They cheer, too, at the performances of ballets and of opera, but the enthusiasm has not the same note of fervid excitement.

The growth of the theatre since the Revolution has been phenomenal. Not all of them deal with what may be called propaganda plays. For the Russian loves circuses, dancing, music, caricature, and buffoonery. But all are more or less subsidized by the Soviet Union and controlled by a central committee.

Then, by another writer, we are told about the government schools, "technics," for the training of actors and actresses which graduate two thousand each

year from four-year courses. Many of these are later employed as leaders in the field of amateur dramatics and in children's theaters, which are sprouting in many places.

In Moscow alone there are, the authors tell us, some "200 properly organized and continuously functioning amateur dramatic centers."

Opera and professional orchestra concerts, at least in the first- and second-class cities—but in many of the smaller industrial centers, too—are enthusiastically backed by state organizations. Standard classical works are performed. We are not told much about works of post-Revolution composers; there is a hint that not many have appeared as yet.

In the chapter on "Playtime of the Child" much is revealed about the great interest of authorities in providing suitable films and stage plays for children, in furthering play activities in schools and, in general, promoting cultural interests—all as part and parcel of the child's normal educational experience. There is a lengthy description of the Moscow children's theaters, which are really club-houses, where they play games before the curtain rises and between acts. Performances are given daily, and these theaters organize "all manner of activities outside for the delight and artistic education of children—fêtes, carnivals, mass games, etc., and assist in the training of children for school dramatic performances."

Active help of young people in the development of stage plays through contribution of ideas and criticisms is enlisted. There is even a Children's board which serves as a medium toward this end.

Then we read about the parks of rest and culture in Moscow—and one assumes they are to be found elsewhere—with their gymnastic apparatus, dance floors, reading-rooms, music, see-saws, swings, boats, sand boxes, community singing, and athletic demonstrations.

Moscow alone has ninety sports grounds, we are told, and the types of sports include boxing, fencing, swimming, volley ball, football, track and field, cycling, rowing, skiing.

A real sports drive seems to have taken hold of Russia, beginning in 1930. Millions of men and women are enlisted and

for the first time a nation is organizing an entire generation into sport—giving it ground, equipment and training.

Recreation activities of youth and adults center largely round their job in school, university, factory, farm, office, army or government department and they prefer it to be like that.

Yes, the play life of the people of Russia is booming and the book under review gives ample proof of the fact. It is written in lively style and there is every reason to believe that its descriptions are authentic.

EUGENE T. LIES

PLAYGROUND ASSOCIATION
NEW YORK CITY

Pioneering with the Red Cross. Recollections of an Old Red Crosser. By ERNEST P. BICKNELL, Vice-chairman in charge of Insular and Foreign Operations. New York: Macmillan Co., 1935. Pp. xi+281. \$2.00.

Ernest P. Bicknell, who died just as this book was published, was a man of much personal charm, as his many friends will always remember gratefully. His good sense was illumined by humor; his smile was compelling. He says of himself that he was cautious rather than adventurous, but he surely could show imagination to very practical ends, as this story proves. He was indeed a pioneer in a work of great concern to society, the development of the American Red Cross in very thrilling times.

This book does not duplicate but supplements helpfully the literature on the subject, such as *Disasters and the American Red Cross in Disaster Relief*, by J. Byron Deacon, published by the Russell Sage Foundation in 1918, and Miss Mabel T. Boardman's *Under the Red Cross Flag at Home and Abroad*, published in 1915. For Bicknell could speak of the importance of the parts played in the transformation of the Red Cross, by Miss Boardman, Mr. Taft, Mr. Robert W. de Forest and other leaders with whom he himself worked. This book should be read not only by persons who are primarily interested in the Red Cross but by all workers in relief of distress, in both public welfare and charitable development. For it brings out vividly the value, in effort of human helpfulness, of such basic human qualities as the understanding heart and imagination, to direct sound methods.

Bicknell's official connection with the American Red Cross began in 1906. The first quarter of this book, which sketches his career up to that time, is important as picturing the man himself and showing the appropriateness of his early work for preparation for the Red Cross. After college, he was a reporter for a leading Indiana paper, in touch with the State House and men in public office. He then began a life-friendship with Alexander Johnson, the first secretary of the new Board of State Charities, who early earned a place of leadership in what is now called social work. Bicknell succeeded Johnson as secretary of that board, serving for five years. Then, in 1898, he was called to be the general secretary of the Bureau of Charities of Chicago. Such, as he put it, was his "hop-skip and jump into the field of social work." The Bureau, as he saw it, was a small struggling organization in a huge tumultuous city. To work out its development was a challenge. He himself had learned that the best help of needy persons as well as real economy in resources is careful, considerate effort; yet, that emergencies sometimes call for quick temporary measures. In 1906, at the earthquake and fire of San Francisco, he was sent there to represent the Chicago Association of Commerce and also the Chicago City Council in administering their funds for relief. Six short chapters are on relief work at San Francisco from April to October. Early in 1907, Bicknell was called to the Red Cross; he felt that he should stay on in Chicago, but he went as one of six delegates to the International Conference of the Red Cross in London in June; and he became National Director of the American Red Cross in 1908.

The rest of the book, covering nearly two hundred pages, tells of Red Cross relief work, under varying conditions, after disasters at Messina, Cherry Mine, American river floods, and forest fires. It touches the trial of a pension plan—in which Bicknell proved his pioneering skill—and the Red Cross nursing. It explains the notable development of the use of "institutional members," which were leading local social work agencies that were pledged to send skilled workers at once to any emergency; and the later building up of the continuous Red Cross staff. Very remarkable is the story of the growth of the Red Cross in membership, endorsement, central office equipment—and good work!

We wish that more was told here of Bicknell's experiences in the World War and afterward, abroad, especially as there are occasional pages of personal experiences which are not pertinent to Red Cross—except as showing Bicknell's humor and very human qualities. And mankind never can be told too often how most men in trying emergencies prove themselves to be cheerful and good neighbors, ready to respond to effort with effort. One of the chapters on San Francisco is called "Make the Best of It." The book throughout teaches us the effectiveness, as a method of social work technique, as well as a matter of human living, of effort to get persons, even adversaries, to sit down together for mutual understanding. Bicknell, as we said in beginning, was really rare in observation, sense, and humor. He is a good companion in this book, as he was in life.

JEFFREY R. BRACKETT

ST. CATHERINE'S SCHOOL
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Roots of Crime—Psychoanalytic Studies. By FRANZ ALEXANDER and WILLIAM HEALY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1935. Pp. vi+305+iv. \$3.00.

That there are many social and other environmental influences which tend tremendously to create delinquency and crime is neither discounted nor denied in this book. It is a work in which the etiological study of delinquency and crime is represented mainly. It attacks the problem of crime from only one angle and offers no single remedy.

Seven cases are given in remarkable detail though condensed from psychoanalytic notes. The whole research project took ten months. The co-operation of the offenders in the psychoanalytic work was, on the whole, reported to have been surprisingly good. There were some undesirable attitudes on the part of both offenders and officials. The latter displayed their attitude by skepticism and lack of appreciation of what was being attempted.

It is apparent throughout that the technical terminology of psychoanalysis has been avoided with unusual scrupulous care. Nevertheless, the material presented will not fail the analytically minded in the more theoretical aspects that they might want to consider. For this care and faithfulness adherents to psychoanalysis, if not psychoanalysis itself, have been made for all time the authors' debtors. They appear to make psychoanalytic concepts and applica-

tions frightfully rational, though challenging, shockingly common sense, though convicting, and passively scientific, though non-schematic. They set for themselves a baffling task and finished it far better than they would dare to admit—at least so it seems as one reads the book and the conclusions reached.

It is surmised that some earnest readers will be inclined to misinterpret the captions of the chapters in which a single case is presented as being representative of a large group of cases. May this never be true, for if this book brings out a single truism, it is that never are individuals ever in duplicate though the law doth take this very view and judge all men alike! It may be the reviewer's pettiness and inherent limitations, but it does seem that the cases presented bespeak for themselves a cardinal-red indictment against forces in which they are mere puppets, and that under their so-called custodians and peers they were scarcely more than moppets. Perhaps it is, and should be admitted, that the authors are too distinguished and too tolerant of human frailty and intrigue to admit themselves what may be said more convincingly and forcefully by the offenders they studied so well and so respectfully. This reviewer will not be so committed to this admission, but a reader may judge for himself.

One may not want to read the detailed rationalization of convicted offenders—though personally this reviewer admonishes you to do so—but truly the practical conclusions of Alexander and Healy are so unbiased, so far reaching, if ever applied, that you will wonder, uneasily, why it is that crime and criminality are allowed to reign supreme as it would appear they are inclined to do. However, at least, it is rather conclusively shown that the application of psychoanalysis in the treatment of a restricted group of offenders has its limitations. And, furthermore, that unknown dynamic factors in the antisocial trends of apprehended offenders are best brought forth by psychoanalysis, or psychoanalytic techniques—to this truth the offender himself contributed convincingly in this signal and recommended study. Read the practical conclusions and you will be tempted to read the entire volume, and then, too, the therapeutic possibilities of psychoanalysis will not be the bitter tonic many would make out it is but instead a vitalizing elixir, when applied deftly, to criminal intent and accident.

H. E. CHAMBERLAIN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

I Knew 3000 Lunatics. By VICTOR R. SMALL, M.D. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1935. Pp. vii+273. \$2.50.

The title to this book greatly misrepresents it. The use of the word "lunatics" suggests the time when many of our statutes providing legal procedure for the commitment of insane persons to state institutions for their detention were passed. The usefulness of many excellent words is destroyed by association. "Lunatic," suggesting moon struck, and "asylum" are among those that have come to have only horrid significance. But "lunatic" was succeeded by "insane"

with its derivatives, and "insanity" by "mentally disturbed." There is much in a name, and these changes in the form of expression at least mark a dissatisfaction with what had been accomplished and a purpose better to understand and meet the problem.

It has been a story of heroic effort and of heroic proportions, the story of the attempt to confine for their own sakes and that of the community and provide with scientific treatment those who in the past were said to be possessed of evil spirits. The names of Pinel, Tuke, Dorothea Dix, Dewey, and Beers are names of those who were devoted to their interests and did much to improve the care of those suffering from mental disease. But the task has revealed itself as incredibly difficult. What to do and how to do it? These questions are so absorbing that the questions of how to get the opportunity where partisan politics prevails, or how to get the appropriations have hardly been appreciated. The Stoll-Robinson case brought out evidence of the weakness in the legislation of Tennessee with reference to the authority of the institution to keep the patient, yet there seems no widespread effort on the part either of the law-enforcing authorities or of the mental hygiene organizations to attempt to cure that defect.

What Dr. Small has done in this book is to give a sympathetic, highly intelligent, and vivid account of a great southern institution. One gets a sense of having participated in the life both of the staff and of the patients. He makes clear why the denial of personal freedom should be safeguarded by requiring convincing proof of the patient's need, and brings out the cruelty of segregation and confinement by graphic portrayal. Of the general qualifications of the staff, both professional and personal, he speaks with respect; of the class lines drawn between medical officer and nurse and of other social and domestic problems developed in an abnormal, restricted situation of this kind, he gives again a penetrating but a kindly picture. The book leaves the reader with a new sense of the effort going into an undertaking of this kind and of the impossibility of successful accomplishment until many changes and greatly increased resources are made available, especially those of personnel and social understanding.

S. P. BECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Observational Studies of Social Behavior, Vol. I: *Social Behavior Patterns*.

By D. S. THOMAS, A. M. LOOMIS, and R. E. ARRINGTON. New Haven: Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, 1933. Pp. xvii+271. \$2.50.

To develop simple indices of social interaction and to define individual and group behavior patterns in terms of these indices was the twofold task undertaken by the authors of this volume in Part I ("Techniques and Results"). Part II ("Some Aspects of Observer Reliability") represents a more rigid test of the capabilities and deficiencies of the observer's use of the techniques than it was possible to obtain in the situations studied. Volume II, now in prepara-

tion, is to deal with further data on reliability and will consider particularly "the differential factor of an observer's self-consistency . . . the results obtained by a method wherein the timing error (one of many variables) has been more completely controlled by mechanical aids."

Step by step the authors march side by side, from record to record, from histograms to statistical tables, in an orderly manner to reach the factually obvious. (Distributed and concentrated observations are numerous; and, on the whole, the study is as much an observation of technicians, since all the methods had in common a feature in which observers were paired on the same series, as a study of social-behavior patterns of the very young in the nursery school.) (The studies described in chap. i were made at the Child Development Institute, Columbia University.)

Aside from the purely mechanistic, some of the obvious conclusions reached are (1) that progressive tendencies of the observers to change in their proportions of disagreements with each other on consecutive observations of the same event could be made by inference only; (2) that various sorts of the systematic errors made by observers could be, in a way, described and measured; and (3) that certain variables in several situations observed, which might contribute to the varying efficiency of the technique, could be defined and measured.

The carefulness and precision throughout is highly commendable, but, even so, "reality" determination was recognized as crude, and that this "reality" distortion in observational records vexed them all along the way one may detect long before the authors admit as much. They finish the text not too discouraged that they have, like many another investigator, demonstrated more problems than they have been able to solve, and too they are confident that real progress in the use of an instrument is impossible until its nature is thoroughly understood.

H. E. CHAMBERLAIN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Institutional Care of Mental Patients in the United States. By JOHN MAURICE GRIMES. Chicago, 1934. Pp. xv+138. \$3.00.

The author explains in the Preface that this study was the result of actions taken by the various bodies of the American Medical Association beginning with a resolution adopted in June, 1930, by the House of Delegates, and followed by procedures on the part of the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals. The Board of Trustees appropriated \$20,000, and the author devoted two years to the study. There was, perhaps from the beginning, recognition of a conflict of jurisdiction between the American Medical Association and the American Psychiatric Association.

The investigation was conducted by the use both of questionnaires, which were obtained from 477 of the 631 institutions, and by visits to 600 out of the 631

institutions. After the material was assembled, however, and a preliminary report had been prepared, irreconcilable differences developed concerning the final formulation of the Report, with the result that the Report is published by Dr. Grimes without the authorization or backing of either society.

Of the size and importance of the problem there can be no question. There are, as has been said, 631 institutions with a patient capacity of 445,867. During the year studied, 147,621 patients were admitted and 83,794 were discharged, while 34,089 others died in the institutions. There were employed in full-time service 2,337 physicians, 7,339 nurses, 38,790 attendants, besides the several thousand other workers necessary in the conduct of the institutions. Of the 631 institutions, 351 are public and 251 are state institutions, including the District of Columbia in the list of states containing 85 per cent of the population.

Although listed as hospitals, some of these institutions, almost half in the author's opinion, are really schools or rest homes, rather custodial than therapeutic; some are simply asylums, though a new connotation has been given that word by Mr. Seabrook.

The study is divided into sections which deal with "The Publicly Controlled Institution—State and City and County and Federal"—and the private, on which no comment is made here. The state institutions the author finds to be chiefly dormitories with commonly locked wards and barred windows, with reasonably comfortable furnishings. In some the conditions are characterized as deplorable, and most are overcrowded and under-staffed.

Only about one-fourth have hospital facilities for the physically sick; and in these, adequate buildings for tuberculous patients are the exception, recreation facilities are few, occupational therapy is meagerly provided, and the social service is reported as generally inadequate—often it is non-existent. The nursing service is often if not generally inadequate. But it is perhaps unnecessary to summarize this brief but suggestive and comprehensive report.

The author urges as a result of his investigation: (1) the concentration of the medical staffs on the problem of de-institutionalization, with the aim of paroling parolable patients; (2) the establishment of a well-organized parole service; (3) expansion and reorganization of service for the acutely ill from which the old "asylum" features have been eliminated; (4) a redistribution of the "chronic" service under economic and social work direction with medical supervision; and (5) the establishment of closer relationship between the institutions and their surroundings.

This program contains many elements that commend themselves to the student of the welfare developments since the time of Dorothea Dix, who would have been interested to have the report fully utilized by the two organizations originally responsible for the inquiry. To ignore the study would seem to them strangely wasteful in a field so badly needing enlightened intelligence and good-will.

S. P. B.

John Bright and the Quakers. By J. TRAVIS MILLS. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1935. 2 vols.: pp. xii+505; xi+389. 25s.

This attempt to shed new light on the life and work of John Bright contains some material in the second volume which will be of interest to students of the social-reform movement. The first volume is exclusively devoted to the Society of Friends, the Bright family, John Bright's school days and early life, and similar subjects. It is the second volume which deals with Bright as a political Quaker, and it is especially the chapter on "Humanitarianism" that is important for those interested in the history of the social-reform movement in England. For the two decades 1830-40 and 1840-50 the battles over the factory acts, the new poor law, a national public health and sanitation program, the Anti-corn Law League, chartism, and the trade-union conflicts were vigorously carried on. Bright has, to his undying credit, and to the credit of the Society of Friends, the support of peace, a cause to which he gave the last full measure of devotion, his efforts to abolish the cruelties of the game laws, and his consistent efforts to abolish capital punishment. Although no attempt will be made here to discuss the large questions of political reform, of the support of religious toleration, of national education—on these questions he staunchly stood forth in the best Quaker traditions.

The blot on Bright's record was, of course, his prolonged opposition to the factory acts and his dislike of the great Shaftesbury. But to evaluate the position of Bright, or the crusading spirit of Shaftesbury or Lord Ashley as he then was, is not an easy task. Both men were unquestionably, but unconsciously, influenced by the group to which they belonged by birth, by family tradition, and by upbringing. Lord Ashley opposed "free bread" and the repeal of the corn laws. A representative of the landed aristocracy, he saw chiefly the iniquities of the new and prosperous manufacturing industries rather than the sordid misery of the rural areas. Bright, on the other side, a representative of one of the textile families, was a rugged individualist who believed almost devoutly in the principle of laissez faire. He would rescue the workers from the tax on food, the benefits of which went to the landowning aristocracy. Shaftesbury, of the latter group, held to the food tax, and believed the way of reform was protective legislation for the workers in the new machine system.

Fortunately, Bright was not in Parliament until the first great battles over child labor had been won, or we should undoubtedly have had him opposing the abolition or control of child labor by legislation, as he opposed the later ten-hour bill, the bill for the fencing of machinery, and other extensions of the factory acts. Bright and his family were benevolent Quaker employers, and their friends were "good employers." They had corrected, and should, they thought, be trusted to correct in the future, without parliamentary interference, such evils of the factory system as their age was prepared to mitigate or abolish. But he would not have Tory aristocrats like Lord Ashley, who came from rural

areas where conditions of life and work were often as bad or worse than in the new mills and the new mill towns, impose shackles on the factory owners, while the landowners were left free and their miserable tenants unprotected.

The great struggle between Bright and Shaftesbury began in 1844 over the attempt to pass the act to restrict the hours of labor for women, and for boys under fifteen, to twelve hours a day, and the battle was a long and a very relentless one, in which Bright appears as thoroughly reactionary from the beginning to the end. There was personal dislike and suspicion between the two men. Shaftesbury thought John Bright an uneducated cotton-spinner who was "neither honest nor humane." On the other hand, Bright thought Shaftesbury was "one-sided," "unjust," and "unfair." The comment of his present Quaker biographer is that "Bright rightly thought that it ill became those who lived in the most brittle of all glass houses to throw stones at the cotton-spinners"; but he does not succeed in building up a very strong case for Bright. After all, this is the twentieth century, and whether one approves of all Lord Shaftesbury's plans and policies or not, certainly he was right about his devotion to the cause of the factory workers and their children; and certainly John Bright was absolutely mistaken in his long struggle against the factory acts. But Bright's biographer tries to defend him. "If Bright spoke with heat, he spoke righteously. He stood out above all others as the valiant champion of the Lancashire employers."

With regard to the factory children, Bright thought that "all that was required had already been effected, as up to the age of thirteen no child could work more than six hours a day in a factory." But the friends of the children, he complained, "still pressed on," and were now (1847) asking "for the interference of the legislature, and for a display of their sympathies in favor of young persons from thirteen to eighteen years of age, and on behalf of women of all ages." That is, "the object of these parties," whom Bright also referred to as "those patriotic individuals," he thought, could be summarized as wanting by law to interfere with the labour of all persons of whatever age and whatever sex who were engaged in the manufactures of this country, and to give to all these classes a protection . . . that would diminish the hours of labour, while it would continue a rate of wages which . . . was clearly a rate higher than labour in a free market could command.

Bright said that there were two points of general agreement. "The one was ten hours' labour was better than twelve, and the other, that the ten hours could best be brought about by a voluntary, instead of a legislative, agreement." He charged that those who supported the ten hours' bill thought that "the master manufacturers were the friends of long hours, and that they themselves were the only humane people!" Bright remained unshaken in his belief that the ten hours' bill was "contrary to all sound principles of sound legislation, that it was a delusion practised upon the working classes, that it was advocated by those

who had no knowledge of the economy of manufactures"; and he believed, further, that "the necessities of trade and the demand alike of workmen and of master would compel them to retrace the steps they had taken." "Voluntary arrangement," and not short hours' legislation, was his rugged individualistic creed to the end. With regard to the fencing of machinery he was equally implacable. Why, he asked, should the factories be compelled "to spend millions in boxing off our machinery? . . . I have advised my partners, if this Machinery Bill passes, to set the example of turning the key on the doors of our mills, and to throw on the legislators the responsibility of feeding the millions whom they will not allow us to employ with a profit."

The personal antagonism between the sturdy Quaker and Lord Shaftesbury grew with the years. In 1853, when Lord Shaftesbury invited Bright and his wife to dine with Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, Bright found a convenient excuse for refusing, and wrote in his journal, "I cannot dine with my ancient opponent, the calumniator of the factory population. In truth, I don't wish to fraternize with him, for I think him in many things a mischievous character."

Shaftesbury, in his turn, was suspicious of the Quakers: "The Society of Friends watch me with unparalleled love, or unparalleled malignity. Whenever I turn, I see or hear or read some token of their sleepless zeal. Mr. Bright gives me no rest in the House of Commons; Ashworth in Lancashire; Pease has paused but for a time in the public press." When Lord Shaftesbury on occasion replied to a charge made by one of Bright's Quaker friends about the tenants on the Shaftesbury estates, he expressed his "sense of the love the Quakers bear me and their zeal for my reformation."

Bright was a benevolent, but an autocratic, employer. In the uncertainties of the fateful autumn of 1861 he wrote to his sister of the approaching crisis: "Our carpet business is stopped entirely. We have not a loom at work, and may stop for weeks. There is almost no trade, and our weavers are not willing to work on reasonable terms." In the month following he wrote again: "Don't trouble thyself about our carpet-weavers. We are getting free from their folly and ignorance, having started a portion of our looms with women weavers, who do the work very well. We have no strike. We will not employ the men who have given us so much trouble, so they molest our new weavers. But I hope it will die away soon."

The history of this period, and the Bright-Shaftesbury antagonism, throws light upon the influence of the environment upon the individual. Bright was undoubtedly right many times when Shaftesbury was wrong—notably in the case of the repeal of the corn laws. But time has shown how wrong Bright was, and how right Shaftesbury was, about the matter of factory legislation. Did not family tradition warp the viewpoints of both men?

E. A.

Commonwealth Fund: Seventeenth Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1935. New York, 1936. Pp. 89.

Carnegie Corporation of New York: Report of the President and of the Treasurer for the Year Ending September 30, 1935. Pp. 173.

Rockefeller Foundation: Annual Report 1934. New York. Pp. 408.

Julius Rosenwald Fund: Review for the Two-Year Period, 1933-1935. Chicago, 1935. Pp. 45.

The reader who opens these reports expecting to find them filled with only dead figures and statistical tabulations will be disappointed. He will find, instead, readable and well-written pamphlets offering a review of modern principles and developments in the fields of education, social welfare, and public health.

Defining the place and value of private foundations, the Commonwealth Fund states the sound principle that "philanthropic foundations can finance experiments, demonstrations, object-lessons, but they cannot support permanently a higher scale of public services for the nation . . . the ultimate test of usefulness is the acceptance by the public and their governmental representatives of the ideas on which the project is based" (pp. 4-5).

An interesting analysis of what counties can afford in the way of public health services is followed by a brief summary of a sound basis for rural health organization.

While the Commonwealth Fund activities were largely in the health field (58.3 per cent of its expenditures for health, 13.8 per cent for its mental hygiene program, 16.1 per cent to fellowships for British students), the remaining 11.8 per cent was spread over other interests, including grants to family and unemployment relief services.

Two well-chosen articles following the formal report humanize the type of activities of the Fund. One "Seven Days in a Rural Hospital" (p. 56) provide brief case histories of a week's incoming patients, while "The Kidney at Work" (p. 72) gives a layman's view of a piece of scientific research.

With true "canniness" the Carnegie Foundation expresses its refusal to include in its program controversial subjects, thus:

For an endowed foundation as such to take sides upon any question which is *sub judice* would be contrary to public policy. The attempts that have been made to support research which might throw dispassionate light upon topics in controversy have not been very successful; for one thing, the researcher is himself a citizen with his own strong views as to what should be done, and this is likely to have its influence, if not upon his logic, at least upon his selection of material; for another, any research under forced draft, as Mr. Hoover used to call it, is seldom research at all in the real sense of the term; for a third, the results are seized upon and exploited by one side or another before opportunity can be given for study and check by other experts in the field.

This, by the way, is not a theoretical situation for a trust like our own; it is a very practical one. It affects our program in general education and in certain specific fields of educational activity, in economics and in the social sciences generally; it may even close the door for the moment to certain branches of scientific inquiry [pp. 38-39].

Nevertheless, the activities which the Foundation considers safe afford a truly amazing variety of interests. Projects range over such wide fields as the "relation of food to longevity"; the study of cosmic rays; "experimental and demonstrational program in teaching typewriting"; "excavation in Tarsus"; the "study of educational problems of penal institutions for youth"; and "the study of the cinema in education and cultural adjustment in Africa."

A comprehensive, well-indexed volume covers the scope of activities of the Rockefeller Foundation from the studies in yellow-fever control to the making of a *Historical Dictionary of American English*. Truly international are its public health activities emphasizing "investigation of the needs of representative communities and of obscure points in the prevention of disease" (p. 21).

To a citizen of this country, in which the federal government has been slow in acknowledging its responsibilities, the report of the direct results of the demonstration in rural health units will be gratifying. The Foundation states that its discontinuance of aid to the routine type of rural health unit was made possible in 1934 by a federal appropriation of \$1,000,000 to the United States Public Health Service. The \$2,900,000 spent by the Rockefeller Foundation had helped to demonstrate the value of these services and assure continuance of the work with "a policy of employment of trained personnel and the exercise of efficient central control over local or county health work" (p. 57).

Quite in opposition to the policy of the Carnegie Foundation in avoiding the complexities of present social and political issues is the amount of money and interest given by the Rockefeller Foundation for studies of activities under the New Deal.

The briefer report of the Julius Rosenwald Fund stresses its interest in rural education, Negro welfare, and medical economics, at the same time recognizing that

these are simply parts of a social structure in which the various factors are interdependent. The Negro is merely one element in the complex of race relations in America and throughout the world; rural schools are but a part of education generally and of the total problem of rural economy; medical economics is a segment of general economic planning and social security. In order to accomplish results of any measurable value we concentrate our efforts and expenditures on a few specific and limited programs. We attempt, however, to keep the general situation in mind both in our own thinking and by co-operation in studies and efforts in related aspects of the general human scene [p. 39].

While this report devotes less space to the theoretical aspects of its activities, it provides a pleasing and adequate description of its projects.

A question naturally arises in connection with these reports as to the group of readers they are intended to reach; which might make some alteration in contents. For example, this reviewer could not help wishing that a discussion of

some of the many interesting projects listed by the Carnegie Foundation could have been substituted for the 100 pages out of a total of 173 pages devoted to a financial report. The same applies in a lesser degree to the Rockefeller Foundation, where more than one-fourth of the space is devoted to the financial statement.

MARGARET CREECH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Lunacy and Mental Treatment Acts ("Handbooks for Public Assistance Officers," No. 2). By E. J. LIDBETTER. London: Law and Local Government Publications, 1933. Pp. vi+181. 6s. 9d.

Maintenance and Desertion ("Handbooks for Public Assistance Officers," No. 3). By E. J. LIDBETTER. London: Law and Local Government Publications, 1934. Pp. xi+179. 7s.

These two compact little volumes continue the series which Mr. Lidbetter began with the little book on *Settlement and Removal*¹ four years ago. The author is connected with the Public Assistance Department of the London County Council and was at one time "superintendent relieving officer" to the Bethnal Green Board of Guardians, who disappeared when the local government act substituted the county council committees for the old "guardians." The author is, therefore, well qualified to prepare a competent summary of the routinized legal procedure under the English poor law system. The law is stated, and the relieving officers follow the law; and the law, as the author suggests, "is unprogressive—depending, as it does, upon precedent, tradition, and custom." The "Lunacy Act" of forty-five years ago is competently reviewed, but of course there have been, as the author points out, great advances in the treatment of mental disease during this period. As he suggests, "medicine is a progressive science," and the attempt to proceed under the old statute in the face of the progress of modern medicine leads to confusing results.

The second of these two small handbooks is more interesting to American students. Here is the principle of "family responsibility" in its original form, in the English poor law. But in the more recent development of what are called in England "the social services," the principle of family responsibility has not been followed. Under the contributory insurance acts, many of the beneficiaries have never belonged to the destitute class. In the case of some of the benefits, however, no special contributions are required from those for whom the benefits or services are provided. The author thinks that "many anomalies arise in consequence." For example, he points out:

Elementary education is provided "free" without regard to the circumstances of the parent of the child, but invalidity and sickness, if treated in a public institution, involve a charge upon the person maintained, if he is able to pay, and also, in certain circum-

¹ See this *Review*, IX, 342.

stances, upon such of his relatives as come within the category of legal liability. No contribution towards the cost of an old age pension is required from the recipient of the pension or from his relatives, but if the aged or infirm person is maintained in a Poor Law institution he and his relatives, if of sufficient ability, are required to contribute towards the cost. The Public Health [Tuberculosis] Act, 1924, makes no provision for the collection of contributions from those treated under it, but schemes made under the Act and approved by the Minister of Health make such provision, while the person treated for tuberculosis in a Poor Law institution or hospital is expected to contribute, if able, as are also his relatives.

The author adds that "these anomalies suggest the need for a general review of the question as to what public services, if any, should be the subject of charge and recovery."

As in the first volume of the series, the author not only presents the statutory provisions on these various forms of public assistance, but these useful little "handbooks" also present the most important court decisions on the subject.

E. A.

BRIEF NOTICES

An Economic History of the United States. By EDWARD FRANK HUMPHREY, Ph.D. New York: Century Co., 1931. Pp. ix+639. \$3.75.

In this interesting account of American economic history the author makes skilful use of personalities, descriptions, and movements, as well as statistics.

The story of the growth of a newly discovered country, which in four centuries came to be the greatest and richest nation in the world, is told in this valuable study of political history and social development. The old-world system, of which the American colonies were a part, is dealt with in the first part of the volume with an interesting account of the economic aspects of the Western domain, the "critical period," and the coming of the "industrial revolution" on this side of the Atlantic. An account of the way in which transportation solved the problem of the West, and the so-called "American system" led to the reconstruction of American commerce and manufacturing, is followed by a very interesting group of chapters dealing with "the golden age of small industry in America 1820-1860," and the new agriculture of the Great Plains and of the south after the Civil War. "Big business" in its golden laissez-faire age, and the beginnings of a corporation era, receive appropriate treatment. The book comes down to the present day with the last group of chapters dealing with America as a world-power, 1914-31. Altogether this is a very interesting book and should be very useful to instructors seeking a general text in this field. There are maps, diagrams, and some well-chosen illustrations.

Benjamin Rush, Physician and Citizen, 1746-1813. By NATHAN G. GOODMAN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934. Pp. 421. \$4.00.

This fine biography of one of the pioneers in various social reform movements will be interesting to many social workers. Sometimes called the "father of American psychiatry," Benjamin Rush was distinguished for early studies in this field. Medical

workers will find the account of the medical studies and practice of Dr. Rush very important in the history of medicine and hospital organization. But Rush had a mind that was too active for any single profession. He was a prison reformer, wrote on the abolition of capital punishment, was an early temperance advocate, an abolitionist, a supporter of free schools,¹ and he was tolerant and generous to the German immigrants where they were unpopular in Pennsylvania. He was, as Dr. Goodman suggests, a valiant citizen, and at times, as in his encounter with the turbulent William Cobbett, a very redoubtable one. Dr. Goodman's careful research has produced an excellent and well-written biography.

Directory of Social Agencies of the City of New York, 1935. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935. Pp. ix+512. \$3.00.

The first directory of social agencies in New York City was published by the Charity Organization Society in 1883. Changes and expansions in the social-work structure of the city have necessitated new editions at frequent intervals. The present volume, compiled under the direction of the New York Welfare Council, is the forty-first in the series.

The volume is divided into two parts: (1) an alphabetical list giving the name, address, telephone number, officers, and function of more than thirteen hundred organizations, and (2) a classification of these agencies in thirty functional divisions. In addition there is a personnel index of the executives of these agencies. Several important improvements introduced in the present volume will undoubtedly make it more widely useful than some of the earlier editions. Chief of these is the abandonment of the familiar fourfold functional classification of agencies in favor of thirty descriptive categories. Under this new arrangement even the uninitiated should be able to find his way through the complex maze of New York City's social services.

W. McM.

Every Day Life in Massachusetts Bay Colony. By GEORGE FRANCIS DOW. Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1935. Pp. xii+293. \$5.00.

This valuable collection of material about the seventeenth-century settlements in the Massachusetts Bay Colony will be indispensable to those who enjoy re-creating the life of the past. This is one of the old colonies from which the poor law system of New England descended, but unfortunately the author does not devote a chapter to the care of the poor, although some very early organization was needed in their behalf. To social workers, of course, a chapter on the poor would be more interesting than chapters like the one on "Counterpanes and Coverlets."

On the whole, this is a very readable book about the everyday life of seventeenth-century America with descriptions of many old manners and customs and details about wearing apparel, trade, shipping, and herb-doctors, and other features of the early life. The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities is to be congratulated on its very handsome appearance. This society, organized twenty-five years ago to aid

¹ See this *Review*, II (1928), 274-304, for other material on Dr. Rush, showing especially his interest in early attempts to make education free.

in preserving the old buildings and antiquities that belong to this increasingly distant past, now owns and maintains twenty-nine houses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and other old properties, like an ancient grist mill, as well as a historical museum and library in Boston.

They Built the West: An Epic of Rails and Cities. BY GLENN CHESNEY QUIETT.
New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1934. Pp. xx+569. \$5.00.

This is a well-written, swiftly moving story of the building of the great West. The "rugged individualism" of the successful, and sometimes ruthless, pioneers, promoters, speculators, and organizers is told in the lives of men like E. H. Harriman, James J. Hill, the elder Hearst, Darius Mills, and Leland Stanford. There is little room in this work for the study of the vigorous, able, fearless, honest men who were the pioneer lawyers, doctors, teachers, and small business men, who furnished the real sinews that withstood all the hardships beyond the old frontiers. And there is little room in this book for those who struggled and failed, for the hardships of the placer miners who reaped no reward, for the sacrifices of the pioneer women who survived the hardships of one drought and fell victims to another. This book has the surge of victory in it from the first page to the last. The illustrations are attractive, and the author, who carries the reader along from the beginning to the end of this epic story, does not attempt also to tell the story of those who dared without success.

The Health of England. By T. W. HILL, M.D. London: Jonathan Cape, 1933.
Pp. 301. 6s.

This very useful book by the deputy medical officer of health of one of the important boroughs (West Ham) of the County of London is a convenient review of the confusion that now exists among the medical and health services, national and local, in Great Britain. Dr Hill reviews the present machinery of English health administration and outlines the services established to minister to the needs of the individual, pointing out the most conspicuous defects and suggesting practical reforms. Slum clearance, town-planning, hygienic food control, maternity and child welfare, school and industrial hygiene, health insurance, and hospitals are all discussed in a competent and interesting statement. This will be a useful book for American students who are interested in the British social welfare and public health program.

Russian Justice. By MARY STEVENSON CALLCOTT, Ph.D. New York: Macmillan, 1935. Pp. x+265. \$3.00.

Dr. Callcott has placed students of judicial administration under heavy obligation by this simple but comprehensive description of the attempts at replacing the czarist administration by application of the principle of economic causation of crime to the individual offenders. The author must, of course, explain that doctrine, describe the situation since the revolution, give an idea of offenses committed and the offenders, describe the courts, summarize the laws as they have been enacted and amended, illustrate the actual conduct of cases before the tribunals, describe the instrumentalities for

scientific aid and the forms of treatment by which punishment is replaced—and all of these she does clearly and frankly and appreciatively. She describes at some length the system of corrective labor, the woman's prison, the treatment of the child, the *sokoliki* or penitentiary, and the Bolshevo Labor Commune. Every reader must agree with her that the facts deserve attention, and that a very "real contribution has been made in this field of social endeavor."

S. P. B.

Interpretation of "Problems on the March." By MACENNIS MOORE, BERNARD A. ROLOFF, and J. ARTHUR FYNN. New York: National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service, 1935. Pp. 25. \$0.25.

Everyone knows that successful publicity consists in part in modifying attitudes. Few of the people served by social workers suffer more grievously from hostile attitudes than those who are both destitute and away from home. For this reason successful interpretation is almost an element in therapy in the case of agencies that serve non-residents and goes far beyond the task of raising money. The prospect of adjusting a transient in a new environment is not promising if the community views him with antagonism.

The present publication is a collection of papers presented in the publicity session of the National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service at the National Conference of Social Work in Montreal. All three papers are replete with suggestions, many of which should be of interest to social workers in related fields.

W. McM.

Brick upon Brick. By ALBERT MANSBRIDGE. London: J. M. Dent, 1934. Pp. xxi+236. 5s.

The Jubilee Year of England's Co-operative Permanent Building Society was the occasion for this volume, which surveys the housing problems of Great Britain over a long and changing period. The Society had a part in the development of English garden cities like Letchworth and Welwyn. The volume contains a detailed history of the work of this great Society and of the various personalities who have been responsible for its successful growth.

Wisconsin Unemployment Insurance. By ROGER SHERMAN HOAR. South Milwaukee: Stuart Press, 1934. Pp. xi+230. \$4.50.

Mr. Hoar, the legal consultant of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission on Unemployment Reserves, has given us in this volume a brief history of Wisconsin, a discussion of the merits of the reserves system, and an annotation of the Wisconsin statute. Students of the subject will find this a useful volume.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

REPORTS OF THE NEW YORK COMMISSION ON UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

Preliminary Report (Legislative Document [1935] No. 55). Pp. 25.

State and Local Welfare Organization in the State of New York: A Summary Report upon the Administration of Public Relief Services (Legislative Document [1936] No. 56). Pp. 97.

Administration of Home Relief in New York City. June 24, 1935. Pp. 122.

Work Relief Projects of the Public Works Type in the State of New York. August 15, 1935. Pp. 108.

In August, 1934, Governor Lehman appointed a Commission on Unemployment Relief with a prominent civic leader, Allen Wardwell, as chairman. Among its thirty members are several well known to social workers: Homer Folks, of the State Charities Aid; T. Arnold Hill, of the National Urban League for Social Service among Negroes; Ruth Taylor, Commissioner of Public Welfare in Westchester County; and Mary L. Gibbons, who was director of home relief in New York City. The Commission has spent some eighteen months on the task assigned it. It had money, from both public and private sources, for the employment of a technical staff so that factual material on the T.E.R.A., New York City relief, public works, work relief, the State Department of Social Welfare, and the employment service was available. Its recommendations are therefore of great interest to students of relief problems and public welfare organization.

These reports are bound in different colored bindings, so that if we were English we should be referring to them, to use the order in which they are listed above, as the "white paper," the "brown report," the "blue report," and the "green report."

A summary of the *Preliminary Report* was published in the *Social Service Review* a year ago;¹ in the December number² Homer Folks summarized and interpreted the report on *Home Relief in New York City* and in so far as it applied to New York City the one on *Work Relief Projects* in his article on "Whither Bound, Relief?"

There remain for review and comment the brown report on *State and Local Welfare Organization* and the gray report on *Public Employment Service in New York*. Discussion of the latter will appear in the June number. We turn, then, to the brown report on New York's *State and Local Welfare Organization*. The

¹ IX (March, 1935), 168.

² IX (December, 1935), 613.

preliminary surveys on which the Commission's recommendations were based were made by Robert T. Lansdale and Lena Parrott, respectively. Their full reports will, it is to be hoped, eventually be made available to students of the subject. We have here only the findings of the Commission.

Its recommendations for the reorganization of the State Department of Social Welfare are of greatest interest because of the importance of a state department in the whole social service program and because the Commission proposed adding to the New York Department, when reorganized, responsibility for state supervision of relief administration.

Under the New York law the Board of Social Welfare, composed of twelve members appointed by the governor for eight-year overlapping terms, is an administrative board with power to appoint the commissioner and, subject to civil service, the other staff members. It is also a rule- and policy-making body. This form of organization was continued when the state government was reorganized under Governor Smith in 1919, although the heads of the departments of health and correction are appointed by the governor. With some few amendments, including change of name, this department organization has continued to the present. Through the years, Governor Lehman's Commission finds, the board has taken on details of administration; it meets infrequently and does not carry the administrative duties it has assumed; the commissioner has had little or no responsibility for the work of the various bureaus of the department, and there is, in consequence, general inertia and stalemate in the department. On this showing a change is clearly needed. The Commission recommends as the way out of what appears to be continuity of executive incompetence that the Commissioner should in the future be "appointed by the Governor and that all administrative responsibilities imposed upon the department be vested in the Commissioner" (p. 61). This is the so-called cabinet form of organization; it was first sponsored by Governor Lowden in the Civil Administrative Code adopted in Illinois in 1919. It is the form of organization found in some eleven states, among them California, Massachusetts, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

New York does not, therefore, take a leap in the dark. It can, if it is willing to look outside its own boundaries, see what the experience with this form of organization has been. If it does, it will find, from California to Pennsylvania, political control of the departments. In Illinois and Pennsylvania the director of the department has changed with every governor whether he followed one of his own party or not. The Ohio and California programs have a good many scars and few accomplishments for the New Yorkers to observe.

On the other hand, if it will look at New Jersey it will find a state administrative board with somewhat less power than the New York Board. The New Jersey Board confirms the appointments made by the commissioner and must approve his recommendations as to policies. The commissioner, although appointed by the board, is the administrative head of the staff, and it is he who initiates the policies of the department. The New Jersey plan has worked ad-

mirably. There has been continuity of policy and the board has been of great assistance in securing new legislation, in increasing appropriations, and in interpreting the work of the department to the general public. As a result there has been progressive improvement in the state's social services and, under Commissioner Ellis, real leadership in public welfare in New Jersey. It is undoubtedly the best of our state departments at the present time.

The government of New Jersey was recently carefully studied by the Department of Politics of Princeton, then under the immediate direction of President Dodds. The report on *State Welfare Administration* contains an excellent chapter on "The System of Board Control." The considerations here set forth which led to approval of the New Jersey scheme of organization are those which explain its approval by the White House Conference and the American Public Welfare Association.

The arguments set forth in the New York Commission's report are the unconvincing ones that are so well known. We heard them all more than fifteen years ago in Illinois: that it is in line with "the trend of governmental progress during the past few decades"; "centralization of administration" is necessary in order that a single "individual may be held directly responsible for the execution of the duties which are placed upon them" (p. 60). The New York report adds to these that, as the governor of that state is responsible for the budget of the department, he should appoint the head. His control of budgetary recommendations, plus his right to appoint members of the board as their term expires, gives the governor, if he knows how to use it and is interested in social welfare, much authority over the board.

But this report fails to call attention to the fact that commissioners appointed by each incoming governor are in no position to serve him if he does have a policy to carry out—which he usually does not. A new commissioner cannot be expected to know the problems of a state as distinguished from a city department until he has had several years in the state service; unless the staff is swept out and political appointments substituted for civil service, there is no opportunity to develop a staff and no time to develop new policies. If a good appointment is made, as for example of Dr. Potter in Pennsylvania, four years is too short a period for real accomplishment in a state-wide program.

The report refers, it seems to this reviewer in a patronizing way, to "sincere and well-informed persons in the field of social welfare" (p. 61) who were opposed to the cabinet scheme. They could not, it appears, qualify as experts in social welfare organization. Who can, one wonders.

As to relief, the report begins with a useful summary of the other forms of public aid—mothers' allowances, care of dependent children, and relief for the veteran, blind, and aged in relation to general home relief and also a history of emergency relief in New York State. The Commission recommends (p. 38) continuation of "state financial participation and of state supervisory control for public outdoor relief" as "sound public policy." It finds home relief "the fundamental basis for any satisfactory system of unemployment assistance," supple-

menting unemployment compensation (p. 39) and that "the theory that all able-bodied relief recipients should be put to work on relief projects which are socially desirable, economically justifiable, and non-competitive in character is impossible of practical achievement" (p. 40).

While recognizing that the "T.E.R.A. has discharged a task unprecedented in character, great in magnitude, and laden with tremendous difficulties in a manner which reflects a generous measure of credit upon it and which merits both appreciation and recognition" (p. 42), the Commission makes a number of criticisms or suggestions for improvement in organization. For example, it finds that there is not in T.E.R.A. the "strong executive control which is needed for such a large agency"; that the primary division of the work under two assistant executive directors into "program" and "operation" is "arbitrary and illogical" (p. 45) and suggests the following divisions which it calls "natural" divisions: "Social Service Activities, Work Relief Activities, Financial and Fiscal Control Activities, with a fourth major unit containing the general administrative services" (p. 46).

It finds under the existing organization that although the staff was "originally made up largely of social workers, yet the field of social service was given no position of importance" and the local welfare units have not had "technical guidance on family budgets, content of records, and treatment of relief recipients"; and finds "rigid lip service given to a set of personnel standards issued in February, 1934 . . . which are too high in their technical requirements to be of practical or permanent value" (p. 46); "that the majority of the persons holding positions as social workers on the field staff of the T.E.R.A. have little professional competence," with the result that "in many of the districts the local supervisor is a person of broader training and experience" (p. 47) than the supervisor; that it has also given little assistance in local fiscal administration; that it has tended to move local workers from one district to another too frequently (p. 51), so that members of the local staff often regard themselves as employees of T.E.R.A., as it engages them originally and moves them about at will, thus breaking down, instead of building up, local responsibility and local initiative.

As for local public welfare organization or reorganization, the principal recommendations are: (1) Administering relief on a town basis should be abolished at the earliest practicable date and centralized in the county except when in the case of incorporated cities they prefer to have city financing and city administration (pp. 76 and 77). (2) The local commissioner of public welfare should "ultimately" be empowered to administer all types of assistance—county and city, however, being consolidated only when both consent to the amalgamation. The anomaly of elected commissioner of public welfare they would abolish and have the county commissioner of public welfare appointed by the county board of supervisors and the city commissioners by the mayors.

The governor has accepted the report of the Commission and sent it in a special message to the Legislature of New York. Social workers in all parts of

the country will study the legislation enacted and what follows. No scheme of organization can guarantee success. The commissioner appointed will be the key in any scheme but he will have needless hurdles to cross if the cabinet form of organization is adopted.

GRACE ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

STATISTICAL REPORTING IN NEW YORK STATE

Handbook for Statistics of Mothers' Allowances. Department of Social Welfare, State of New York. Albany, 1935. Pp. 24.

Handbook for the Collection and Tabulation of Statistical Information from Private Institutions for the Care of the Aged in the State of New York. Department of Social Welfare, State of New York. Albany, 1935. Pp. 56.

Handbook for the Collection and Tabulation of Statistical Information about Children in Foster Care by the New York State Department of Social Welfare. Department of Social Welfare, State of New York. Albany, 1935. Pp. 133.

The United States Children's Bureau conducts at present the only project in the country that aims to obtain current statistical data from all the various fields of social work. This undertaking is limited, however, to a selected group of urban areas. For some time it has been evident that, with respect to several of the major activities, data should be available on a state-wide, and ultimately on a nation-wide, basis. The attempt made by the United States Bureau of the Census to assemble relief statistics for the first three months of 1929 and of 1931 emphasized anew the difficulties of a comprehensive coverage in absence of continuing activity by the states. Hence, the publication of handbooks for the guidance of local authorities and local private agencies in submitting monthly and annual service data and annual financial reports to the State Department of Social Welfare in New York State must be regarded as a development of major importance.

The State Department was aided in this undertaking not only by a grant from the Spelman Fund, but also by the advice of a special research committee made up of persons distinguished for their knowledge and experience in the fields of statistics and public welfare administration. Two of the members of this committee functioned as representatives of the American Statistical Association.

The *Handbook for Statistics of Mothers' Allowances* is briefer than the other two, doubtless because the local authorities administering mothers' allowances are governmental bodies required by law to submit reports to the State Department. The handbook for homes for the aged is designed exclusively for private agencies, and the handbook for children's agencies aims to obtain data from both public and private agencies. Hence, in these two latter documents, the method

of education and persuasion is used extensively. Both follow substantially the same plan: a discussion of the purposes of reporting, facsimiles of the schedules, detailed instructions, and dummy tables indicating the information that will be available for publication if all agencies co-operate satisfactorily. The last-mentioned section should be especially useful in making clear to agencies that are indifferent toward the project the practical and useful character of the data that may be expected to result.

The handbook for the field of child care will undoubtedly attract much wider interest than the other two. Few fields are more complex, and the task of obtaining comparable material from scores of different types of administrative units is therefore extraordinarily difficult. Possibly experience may show that the present plan is in need of some modification. It is, however, a careful piece of work, and the expressed intention certainly is to avoid the frequent changes in reporting that have in the past been an endless source of irritation to the co-operating agencies.

All three handbooks contain detailed instructions for annual financial reports. Although complete statutory authority exists to compel these reports from private as well as public agencies in the field of child care, it is clear from the following statement that the State Department has a realistic grasp of the practical difficulties that will be encountered. "The State Department of Social Welfare believes that complete returns of this financial report, *even from a few agencies* [italics mine] will be of interest and value. . . ." Someone must ultimately solve the problem of annual financial reports if progress in understanding social administration is to be made. The New York State Department is well equipped to assume leadership in this matter. The results of its efforts in this field, as well as in the field of service accounting, will be followed with interest by social workers throughout the country.

WAYNE McMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

I. L. O. REPORT ON CHILD-LABOR LAWS

Children and Young Persons under Labor Laws. International Labour Office (Studies and Reports Series I, Employment of Women and Children, No. 3). Geneva, 1935. Pp. viii+342. 10s. 6d.; \$2.75. Distributed in the United States by the World Peace Foundation, Boston.

This useful report of what the countries of the world are doing in the regulation of the employment of minors has a very brief introductory discussion of the history of child-labor laws and methods to enforce such legislation. Existing laws are analyzed by countries in twenty comparative tables, covering not only regulations as to age, hours, and occupations but school attendance and medical examination. For federal states like the U.S.A. and Canada information about individual states is given.

JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN

Report on Juvenile Employment for the Year 1934 (Great Britain Ministry of Labour). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1935. Pp. 24. 4d.

President Roosevelt, in creating the National Youth Administration and in allocating to it \$50,000,000 to inaugurate a special program of relief for unemployed youth, made official acknowledgment of the government's responsibility to develop a special program in this field. In a public address in New York City recently the administrator of this new effort candidly admitted his uncertainty as to the most hopeful way to attack the situation. The experience in England, where the government has been engaged for a decade in the attempt to ameliorate the lot of unemployed juveniles is therefore at present of special interest in this country.

The work in England is conducted by 340 local committees created either by local education authorities or by the Minister of Labour. The functions of these committees are fourfold: (1) to advise boys and girls and their parents, especially at the time of leaving school, on the choice of a suitable career; (2) to help boys and girls to obtain suitable employment; (3) to assist employers in the recruitment of labor; (4) to keep in touch with boys and girls during the early years of their industrial life.

The statistics show a total of 445,400 juvenile placements by these committees in 1934 as compared with 377,300 in 1933. Those placed in first situations reached 168,200 in 1934 as compared with 122,500 in the preceding year. On September 3, 1934, the minimum age of entry into unemployment insurance was lowered from sixteen to fourteen, the statutory school-leaving age. Between September 3 and December 31 the number of unemployment books issued to juveniles in the two new age groups, fourteen and fifteen, reached 899,000. The total number of insured juveniles over fourteen and under eighteen for whom the juvenile employment committees are responsible is thus at present approximately 1,735,000. A new regulation requires that when a juvenile leaves employment, his unemployment book is not handed to him, as in the case of adults, but is returned by the employer directly to the juvenile employment office. This provision enables the committees to keep a more careful watch on the cases they are seeking to help.

One of the most interesting experiments described in the report relates to juvenile transference. More than three-fourths of all unemployed boys and girls are located in so-called "depressed areas" where there is no prospect of regular employment. In 1928 a fund amounting to about \$225,000 was raised by voluntary subscription to assist in transferring boys and girls from the depressed area to more prosperous sections of the country. The resources of the fund have been used for making up the difference between wages and the cost of maintenance in vacancies of a progressive type and for meeting special situations, such as a brief period of illness or unemployment.

The conditions under which grants from the fund could be made are worth examining: (1) the vacancy found should offer good prospects of continuous employment and be likely to provide progressive employment into adult life; (2) the wages paid to transferred juveniles should not be less than those usually paid in respect to the occupation in question; (3) throughout practically the whole of the period covered by the fund the employer should agree to bear some proportion of the difference between the normal weekly rate of wages usually paid in the occupation in question and the amount considered necessary for maintenance in the locality; (4) assistance from the fund should normally be limited to two years.

The difficulties likely to be encountered in applying these regulations are obvious, and undoubtedly there would always be some danger of the plan's resulting in a subsidy to exploiters of juvenile labor. Evidently the achievements of the plan in England outweighed the failures, however, for the Minister of Labour, after an investigation of the scheme, announced in November, 1934, a considerable expansion of the program by the aid of a government grant. Under the enlarged scheme, local authorities in sixty-three reasonably prosperous areas not hitherto co-operating have been requested to discover and report to the Minister vacancies in their jurisdictions to which juveniles from the depressed areas might be sent. Railroad fares are, of course, provided in all cases.

The report also summarizes the experience with courses of instruction for unemployed juveniles. The Unemployment Act of 1934 required local education authorities to submit proposals for provision of courses of instruction for unemployed boys and girls in their respective areas. Prior to the Act of 1934 attendance could be required only of those juveniles in receipt of unemployment benefit. The new Act gave the power to require attendance of all unemployed juveniles under eighteen, whether insured or not. By the end of 1934, 110 junior instruction centers and 14 classes were in operation under this provision in 94 towns, and the aggregate attendance had mounted to 113,500. The increase in attendance toward the close of the year, amounting to about 1,600 per day over the preceding months, was mainly accounted for by the enrolment of boys and girls not drawing unemployment benefits.

There can be no question of the need for special provisions for the placement of young people. Inevitably many of them are lost in the shuffle in a large, undifferentiated employment exchange. Undoubtedly the development in this country should be in the direction of increasingly specialized departments for youth operated in connection with the employment offices under standards set by the Secretary of Labor.

W. McM.

F.E.R.A. REPORTS ON STUDIES AS WELL AS RELIEF

Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, July 1 through July 31, 1935. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935. Pp. iv+100.

The *Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration* for the month ending July 31 contains, in addition to the usual tables of expenditures and case loads, an interesting report on "Workmen's Compensation on Work Relief Programs," by William M. Aicher. This report contains a very brief statement of the experience with compensation for accidents to C.W.A. workers under the Federal Compensation Act of 1916 and the drastic reduction of benefits made by the Act of Congress of February 15, 1934, for those injured on relief work of the federal government. A summary is also given of the compensation status of those on work relief under state workmen's compensation laws and of the special laws adopted by some states to cover accidents on work relief. The latter definitely establish that work relief is neither work nor relief, and compensation for those who are killed or injured on jobs which they must accept or go hungry is less than the law gives to the employed who theoretically at least have some choice of employers and occupation. This report is so brief—statutes and cases are not cited and are summarized rather than analyzed, and tables of accidents and awards by occupations are not given—that it will not satisfy students of this subject. In view of the W.P.A. program it is a very important subject, which should be further considered.

Another interesting article, "Sources of State Emergency Relief Funds," by L. Lászlóecker-R, will be useful to all those who are struggling, or must struggle, with the problem of how state relief funds are to be raised. They will find here that since 1932-33 borrowing has been the method by which more than half of the state emergency funds have been secured, which is not a help on long-time planning, and that the reaction against the sales tax had set in last year with a resulting reduction of funds from that source from 19.5 per cent of the total in 1933-34 to 14.7 per cent in 1934-35. This upside-down income tax is certainly not the answer to our prayers.

As for relief statistics, we find the numbers on emergency relief were 4,303,705 families and 19,256,586 persons in May and 4,022,782 families and 17,945,420 persons in June, 1935. The average monthly relief budget per family for continental United States was \$29.33 for May and \$28.14 for June. In the principal cities the budgets were higher—\$36.85 in May and \$35.52 in June—but clearly not high enough to insure a "minimum standard of decency and health" for the children.

If the practice of reporting in these monthly bulletins on research projects is to be continued, it would be helpful to have leading articles listed on the cover. The *Monthly Labor Review*, which reports monthly statistics in the labor field, has done this for some years. Unless attention is called to such articles, a publication mainly devoted to the regular reporting of current statistics is likely to

be filed for future use as needed. Perhaps suggestions regarding F.E.R.A. bulletins are already out of date, as F.E.R.A. no longer exists and what W.P.A. will do in the matter of reports is at this writing not known.

G. A.

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND STILL HAVE A HOUSING PROBLEM

Great Britain: Census of England and Wales, 1931. Housing. Report and Tables. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1935. Pp. lxii+89. 6s. 6d.

London County Council; Census, 1931—London. Report by the Valuer to the Housing and Public Health Committee, 1935. No. 3134. Pp. 36. 1s. 9d. *Housing Estates. Statistics for the Year 1932-33.* 1934. No. 3017. Pp. 27. 1s.

Great Britain: Report of the Departmental Committee on Housing. Cmd. 4397. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1933. Pp. 68. 1s. 3d.

Great Britain: Report of the Scottish Departmental Committee on Housing. 1933. Cmd. 4469. Pp. 93. 1s. 6d. *Working-Class Housing on the Continent,* Department of Health for Scotland. Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office, 1935. 1s. 6d.

Beginning with the Census of 1891, the English census schedule has carried an inquiry regarding number of rooms in each dwelling. Invaluable social data have been secured in this way, but our American census authorities, for some reason that has never been satisfactorily explained, have never been willing to follow this excellent English example. In 1921 and in 1931, owing to the great public interest in the post-war housing problem, further improvements in the English census inquiries were made by separating the private family dwellings and the structurally separate houses.

One of the most valuable results of the housing inquiry has been the presentation of nation-wide statistics regarding overcrowding in every borough, urban district, and rural district, in the country. The present report points out that these statistics "should be an invaluable guide to the manner in which the populations of the different areas are housed and to the extent of the problems confronting local housing committees and authorities interested in improving conditions among the less favorably housed sections of the communities concerned."

In general, the English Census reports have followed the practice of using a density of more than two persons per room as a "comparative index of the prevalence and distribution of overcrowding." The Census, however, warns against "the mistaken belief that it was intended to serve as an absolute standard of overcrowding." It is, therefore, again emphasized that "the use of this or any other grouping in these reports implies no judgment whatever as to what in fact constitutes overcrowding." It is probable that the original adoption of the

"more than two persons per room" standard many years ago was "no doubt governed by some general conception of the limits of reasonably tolerable conditions"; but the Census is careful to point out that it has never claimed that this standard represents "the actual dividing line between good and bad housing conditions." It has quite properly been retained for use "as a comparative standard of measurement, an objective which would equally well be obtained by the use of other density divisions." Finally, the Census presents some of the formulae for measuring overcrowding that have been used in some of the surveys in English cities, especially in the new survey of London, and then adopts some new rules "for the assessment of the minimum number of rooms required by a family." These rules are as follows:

SLEEPING ROOMS

Space Allowance.—For the family as a whole there must be an overall average of at least one room per $2\frac{1}{2}$ equivalent adults, counting children under 10 years of age as $\frac{1}{2}$ an adult each for this purpose. Subject to this overall average, any room may be required to sleep 3, but not more than 3, equivalent adults.

Sex Separation.—The number of rooms must be such that persons of opposite sex, aged 10 or over, may be separated except in the case of persons living together as husband and wife who are deemed to require a separate room shareable only with children. Children under 10 years of age may sleep in any room, with or without adults.

SEPARATE LIVING ROOM

In addition to sleeping rooms as above, a separate living room is to be regarded as necessary when the standard number of sleeping rooms is less than half the total *persons* (not equivalent adults) in the family. Not more than 1 separate living room to be allowed in any case.

The application of this standard may be said to depend upon four variables, it being necessary to know in respect of each family the number of children under 10 years of age in the family, the number of married couples, and the division of the remaining numbers between the two sexes. The size or character of the rooms occupied has necessarily been disregarded, since no information thereon is available from the Census record.

The percentage of the population living more than two persons per room in 1931 was as follows:

	Percentage
All urban areas.....	7.62
All rural areas.....	4.22
Greater London.....	9.43
County boroughs outside of Greater London.....	8.16
Other urban areas outside of Greater London.....	5.63

There is a valuable discussion of the density statistics as an expression of overcrowding, and some interesting new statistical estimates of probable housing requirements in the next decade.

The special London County Council report carries this statistical analysis further for the administrative county of London dealing with changes in popu-

lation that affect housing requirements, such as the increase in the number of families and the decrease in the average number of persons per family.

The following table shows the very large numbers of people who are still living (as private families) in conditions of overcrowding according to the census standard of more than two persons per room in Greater London:

Degree of overcrowding	Number of Persons, 1931
<i>Living more than:</i>	
2 persons per room.....	734,372
3 persons per room.....	187,181
4 persons per room.....	57,719
5 persons per room.....	20,021
6 persons per room.....	7,858
7 persons per room.....	2,876
8 persons per room.....	901
9 persons per room.....	244
10 persons per room.....	44
11 persons per room.....	
12 persons per room.....	

The report dealing with the housing estates of the London County Council contains an impressive statement of the "dwelling accommodation" provided by the County Council and the great progress that has been made in the provision of public housing. There is also a timely discussion of the subject of management of the Council's housing estates.

Ordinarily a landlord will select the most suitable applicant for all vacant accommodation. In the case of the Council's housing estates special considerations are involved in the selection of tenants and letting takes the form rather of allotment of accommodation and it is dealt with under this heading in this memorandum. . . .

In the earlier days of the Council's housing operations the demand for dwellings was generally not pressing owing to the fact that there was sufficient fluidity to enable persons desiring fresh accommodation to pick and choose. Consequently the Council's practice was to accept tenants strictly in the order in which their applications were received, subject to references being satisfactory. Subsequently many modifications of this system have been made in order to meet the changing circumstances and the new conditions which have arisen. At the present time there are in operation numerous and somewhat complicated regulations which have been made from time to time, but generally it may be said that the main considerations are to secure that vacant accommodation is allotted to those applicants who most need it, and to assist the Council in its various housing operations. All accommodations are strictly rationed, no applicant being allowed to become the tenant of more accommodation than he needs and no applicant being accepted in any circumstances where it appears that he and his family are adequately housed or have sufficient means to secure accommodation provided by private enterprise. As a corollary to this, existing tenants when not protected by the Rent Restriction Acts, who by reason of changes in their family are found to be in occupation of more accommodation than they need are required to remove or transfer to less accommodation on the Council's estates, while tenants whose means are considered to be greater than would justify them in remaining as tenants of accommodatio

subsidised out of public funds, are required to vacate and obtain accommodation elsewhere. . . .

During the year, approximately 100,000 persons called at the central office enquiring as to the possibility of obtaining housing accommodation, while nearly 109,000 enquiries were made by letter. It is a task requiring considerable patience and tact to sort out from these enquiries those applicants who appear to satisfy the rules and regulations governing the allotment of accommodation and whose needs or requirements it appears possible to satisfy. When it is remembered that the total number of new lettings was 9,307 the large amount of work involved in the allotment of accommodation can be realised. There is still at certain times during the week a queue of applicants at the Old County Hall waiting to be dealt with and at these times there are as many as six officers engaged in interviewing callers. Quite a considerable number of applicants are mothers who bring their children. Services of women assistants are utilised to interview special cases.

The Council now owns 61,916 dwellings (51,925 of which have been built since the war), bringing in yearly rentals of 2,471,333£—that is, roughly, \$12,500,000 a year.

The English housing report of the Moyne Committee is not very helpful to Americans interested in the housing problems of their own country. The terms of reference under which this departmental committee was set up excluded consideration of general large-scale building proposals and clearance and demolition. This report, therefore, deals with proposals for repairing or re-conditioning bad houses that are "entirely unfit," but not unfit enough for demolition. The committee, therefore, goes back to Octavia Hill and the "house property manager" system. Bad landlords, they say, make bad tenants, and they recommend the wide use of women housing estate managers. The committee proposes an extension, on a large scale, of the public utility societies that have followed the house management plan.

The Moyne Committee also proposes some rather radical changes regarding expropriation. Owners of working-class houses, which are not fit for human habitation, should, the committee thinks, be compensated on a new basis and made liable to expropriation. The committee uses the statutory definition in the 1930 Housing Act regarding the meaning of the term "unfit for human habitation."

In determining . . . whether a house is fit for human habitation regard shall be had to the extent, if any, to which by reason of disrepair or sanitary defects the house falls short of the provisions of any bye-laws in operation in the district, or of the general standard of housing accommodation for the working classes in the district.

And "sanitary defects" are defined in the same statute as including "lack of air space or of ventilation, darkness, dampness, absence of adequate and readily accessible water supply or sanitary accommodations or of other conveniences and inadequate paving or drainage of courts, yards or passages."

The Moyne Committee considered the evidence which they received as "conclusive" that the present public health and housing acts were "adequate,

if enforced, to enable Local Authorities to require the private owners to put their properties in good repair." It is, however, pointed out that the existing provisions have been "seriously criticised on the ground that the powers are not in all cases enforced," and "in only a few cases" could be said to be "diligently exercised." They report that the scope of the powers has "been criticised as inadequate on the ground that the properties are left in the hands of a large number of small private owners, many of whom neither can nor will manage or repair their property satisfactorily." And they point to the difficulty of "the existence of a large number of small owners with limited resources who neither can nor will repair satisfactorily and whose management is limited to the collection of their rents." Undoubtedly, many of the local authorities have been reluctant "to exercise compulsion on owners whose sole capital is in such properties and whose interest in them is in fact only the equity of a mortgage."

The committee "believe in the principles of private property and private ownership," but they also "feel strongly" that private ownership should be "efficient and conscientious," and that it should cease being what it now too frequently is, "an illegitimate gamble on the inactivity of the local authority." The owners of such properties "should be replaced by a public or quasi-public authority." The committee thinks a way must be found to avoid excessive compensation for such property. The recommendation is that the dispossessed owner should be paid what he himself paid for his property, or the sum at which it was valued for certain taxes.

The report of the Scottish Departmental Committee on Housing parallels the English report, and deals largely with reconditioning and reconstruction, meaning by the latter term "more extensive structural alterations" than are indicated by reconditioning. The Scottish committee lay stress on the importance they attach to retaining a considerable number of houses in the center of cities. "We regard it as undesirable that whenever new houses or alternative housing accommodation is provided for the working classes, such houses should, of necessity, be provided in outlying districts on the outskirts of densely populated areas." The Committee estimate that approximately one-twentieth of the houses in Scotland "are uninhabitable and ripe for demolition." But the Committee think that one-fourth of all the houses need reconditioning or reconstruction.

More recently, the Department of Health for Scotland has issued the report on continental housing experiments. This report was prepared as the result of a hurried journey in search of new types of better housing for the low-income groups. The report is described by the author as "an impressionistic account of what we saw," rather than an attempt "to make any detailed examination of the social, economic, and architectural factors . . . of present forms and tendencies in working class housing on the Continent." The Continental investigation was undertaken because a new vista in the Scottish housing problem seemed to be opened up by possible "extensive demolitions of unfit property and the

ultimate necessity for rebuilding on the cleared sites." Facing the problem of "considerable rebuilding operations in the built-up portions of our towns and cities," it was thought that the continental cities provided examples of "modern experiments in mass building for the working classes." The special object of the English visitors was, therefore, to see how far these Continental tenements "contained any features, either in their architecture or in their lay-out, which might be incorporated in future Scottish schemes. . . ."

The Scottish visitors were impressed by the fact that in the Continental housing schemes the tenants belonged to "a wider scale of social grades" than they were accustomed to find at home.

Many of the houses, particularly in Germany and France, were specifically provided for better-class tenants. Holland is the only country where we saw slum clearance tenants "in the mass" and it appears to be the only country where clearance of the slums has yet been attempted on any extensive scale. This is not to say that many of the schemes we visited did not consist entirely of tenants who were working-class people, but the attractiveness of some of these schemes was enhanced by both the tenants and houses being of a superior type. Even where schemes were occupied entirely by the low wage-earner class, the authorities had apparently been able to exercise a wider discretion in selecting their tenants than Scottish authorities can always exercise in their 1930 Act activities. . . .

They found the Continental rents, however, relatively high. But these Continental rents "sometimes include useful communal services such as central heating, use of communal wash-house and drying-room, and, occasionally, the free use of baths." Also to be considered in the rents are the necessary charges for upkeep of gardens, playgrounds, paddling pools, and other amenities. However, the Committee thinks that even when allowances are made for all this, "rents on the Continent, particularly in Germany and Holland, are materially higher than in Scotland."

These reports are, like most of our housing reports in these later years, both encouraging and discouraging. They are encouraging because the evils of bad housing are so generally acknowledged and so clearly faced by governmental authorities, and because of the really vast improvements that have come from the housing reform projects of the various public authorities. They are discouraging because of the incredible difficulties still in the way of any relatively adequate improvements in the face of so much that is far below any decent standard of living.

CONTRIBUTORS

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, formerly professor of history at the University of North Carolina, has been its president since 1930. He is not only maintaining but advancing that University's tradition of service to the South and to the nation. He has served on important committees in Washington in recent years and was chairman of the Advisory Council on Social Security in 1934.

EDGAR SYDENSTRICKER, the leading statistician in the United States in the health field, became director of the Milbank Memorial Fund when John Kingsbury resigned. He was the first statistician of the U.S. Public Health Service and served in that capacity from 1915 to 1928. In 1923-24 he served as chief of service of epidemiology intelligence and public health statistician for the League of Nations, being on leave from the Public Health Service to assist in initiating the statistical work of the League's international health organization.

RUTH WHITE, a member of the staff of the United States Children's Bureau, while on leave last year to attend the School of Social Service of the University of Chicago, directed the investigation on which her article on home work is based.

ALFRED W. BRIGGS, who was administrator of the Wisconsin Emergency Relief Administration, is now the director of the Public Welfare Department, which replaced the W.E.R.A. Mr. Briggs was formerly statistician for the State Industrial Commission of Wisconsin and for the Division of Research and Statistics of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and assistant director of research for the Philadelphia Community Council.

ERNEST F. WITTE, PH.D., of the School of Business of the University of Chicago, had been an instructor in economics before he joined the staff of the Clearing House for Men of the Chicago relief administration as a junior case worker and registered at the School of Social Service of the University of Chicago. For the past nine months he has been director of the Nebraska Emergency Relief Administration. He is now a regional supervisor for the Assistance Bureau of the Social Security Board.

LOUISE STITT is at present head of the Minimum Wage Division of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. She was formerly superintendent of the Division of Minimum Wage of the Ohio State Department of Labor and assistant professor of economics at Ohio State University.

J. PRENTICE MURPHY, 1882-1936 (Notes and Comment, p. 128).

ELLEN NATHALIE MATTHEWS' first position in public social service was secretary of the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Board; in 1917 she joined the staff of

the United States Children's Bureau to assist in the administration of the first Federal Child Labor Law and later became director of the Industrial Division of the Bureau. She is now with the Research Bureau of the Welfare Council of New York City.

LOUIS E. EVANS, who was the first executive of the Chicago Joint Service Bureau Department of Child Placing, is at present director of the recently organized Children's and Minors' Service of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare.

DR. H. LLEWELLYN HARRIS, a practicing physician in Chicago, was for a brief period in the Medical Corps of the United States Army, later a member of the staff of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, and a Fellow of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

EUGENE T. LIES, special representative of the Community Service, Inc., and National Recreation Association since October, 1920, was an early graduate of the New York School of Philanthropy (1901). His first social work was with the Buffalo and later the Chicago Bureau of Charities. He was general secretary of the Minneapolis Associated Charities (1907-12) and general superintendent of the Chicago United Charities (1912-18).

JEFFREY RICHARDSON BRACKETT is one of the pioneers in social work and social-work training. He was a lecturer on philanthropic and social work at Johns Hopkins, 1900-1904, president of the National Conference of Social Work in 1904, and director of the Boston School of Social Work from 1904 to 1920. He is at present at St. Catherine's School, Richmond, Virginia.

DR. H. E. CHAMBERLAIN is associate professor of psychiatry, lecturer in the School of Social Service, and director of the Child Guidance Clinic of Bobs Roberts Hospital of the University of Chicago.

MARGARET CREECH, member of the Faculty of the School of Social Service of the University of Chicago and author of *Three Centuries of Poor Law Administration*, was formerly director of the Portland School of Social Work (University of Oregon).

